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The Politics of Memory

The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century
Low Countries

By

Raingard Esser



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Cover illustration: Frontispiece of Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (van Meurs) 1663. With kind permission of The British Library.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Glossary	ix

Introduction: Partition, Continuity and Change: Urban and Regional Cultures of Memory in the Low Countries in the Seventeenth Century	1
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PART I

THE NORTH

I	The Jewel in the Crown: Amsterdam and Its Historians	29
II	<i>Tot Lof van Haarlem</i> : Memories in Competition	105
III	Nijmegen: City of the Batavians	137

PART II

THE SOUTH

IV	<i>Antverpiae Antiquitatum</i>	161
V	Faded Glory: Leuven	189
VI	Crusader Kings and Warrior Saints: Geraardsbergen	207

PART III

REGIONAL HISTORIES, REGIONAL VARIATIONS

VII	Centre and Periphery: Holland, Zeeland, Gelderland, Drenthe and Flanders	227
VIII	On the Border: <i>Brabantia Sacra</i> or <i>Der Staten Brabant</i> ...	291
Conclusion		319
Bibliography		329
Index		353

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GLOSSARY

ambtman	regional official whose function can be compared to that of a burgomaster
Alteratie of 1578	The change of power that occurred in Amsterdam on May 26th 1578, when the Catholic government was replaced by a Protestant one.
beleg	siege
beroerten	troubles
beschryvinghe	description
beurs/bourse	exchange
burgemeester (dutch), burgomaster	one of the chief magistrates in a town; in Holland towns usually had four burgomasters.
burgher	citizen
burcht	stronghold/castle
chronyck	chronicle
directeur	(executive) director
Doopsgezinden	Mennonites
geschiedenis	history
Geuzen	beggars; name adopted by the party of the Revolt.
gracht	canal
grachtengordel	the Amsterdam canal district
griffier	secretary or court clerk
Heer	Lord
Hof	superior court of a particular province, e.g. Hof van Holland, Hof van Gelre.
leengreffier	
liefhebbers	sympathizers of the Calvinist church who had no official links with the church
raad, or rade	council

Raad van Beroerten	“Council of Troubles”, a special tribunal that was instituted by the Duke of Alva in 1567 to deal with the crimes that had been committed during the past political and religious “troubles” in the Netherlands. In popular parlance it was also known as the Council of Blood (Bloedraad).
Rampjaar	“disaster year”. In the year 1672 the Dutch Republic was simultaneously attacked by France, England, the bishop of Münster and the bishop of Cologne. With the appointment of William III as stadholder the First Stadtholderless Period came to an end.
rederijkerskamer	chamber of rhetoric
rederijker	member of a chamber of rhetoric
regeringe	government
ridderschap	estate of the nobles of a province. In most provinces the ridderschap had one or more votes in the meetings of the States.
Roomsgezinden	Catholics
schout	a local official appointed to carry out administrative, law enforcement and prosecutorial tasks
schepenen	alderman or town councilor, who also possessed certain legal powers
schouwburg	theatre
stadhuis	town hall
stadhouder (dutch), stadholder	literally “place-holder” or “lieutenant”. Under Burgundian and Habsburg rule the stadholder functioned as a representative of the prince in a particular province. After the Act of Abjuration the stadholders were assigned by the States of each

	province of the Republic. The stadholders had some important prerogatives concerning the appointment of local officials and magistrates, and they were normally also appointed commander-in-chief of the army and the navy.
stedenlob	<i>Laus urbis</i> . Literally “praise of the city”.
vaderland	fatherland
VOC, Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie	United East-India Company
vyant	enemy

INTRODUCTION

PARTITION, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: URBAN AND REGIONAL CULTURES OF MEMORY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In 1663 the Amsterdam printer Jacob van Meurs published a *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, a large, beautifully illustrated volume covering the city's topography and history written by Olfert Dapper, a local physician with close links to the regent Witsen family.¹ Van Meurs must have been convinced of the success of this enterprise, because only a few months later he published yet another book devoted to Amsterdam, Philip von Zesen's *Historische Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* which simultaneously appeared in Dutch and in German. Nor was he the only publisher in the city to exploit local history. Marcus Willemsz. Doornik, one of van Meurs' competitors, launched no fewer than three volumes on Amsterdam in the short period between 1662 and 1665.² The genre of 'Historical Descriptions' was clearly booming in Holland's metropolis in the mid-seventeenth century. Dapper's and von Zesen's books, and other works from Doornik's press were neither the first nor the last in a series of publications on Amsterdam's past and present which incorporated surveys of the city's topography and were often very profusely illustrated. Neither was the genre restricted to the Dutch Republic's financial and mercantile capital. Throughout the United Provinces civic authorities and members of the urban and provincial elites sponsored works in praise of their

¹ Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam: waerin de voornaemste geschiedenissen (na een kort verhael van gansch Holland en d'omleggende Dorpen, als Ambachts-heerlijkheden, onder deze stadt gelegen) die ten tijde der Herdoopers, Nederlandsche beroerten, en onder Prins Willems, de tweede, Stadt-houderlijke Regeering, hier te stede voor-gevallen zijn, verhandelt, en Al de Stads gemeene, zoo Geestelijke als Wereltlijke, Gebouwen, in meer als tzeventijg kopere Platen, met haer nevenstaende Beschryving, vertoont worden*, Amsterdam (Meurs) 1663.

² Doornik published Melchior Fokkens, *Beschryvinge der wijdt-vermaarde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam, enz.* Amsterdam 1662, Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt den huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant, enz.* Amsterdam 1665 and his own collection: Marcus Willemsz. Doornik (ed.), *Beschrijvingh der Stadt Amsterdam, door verscheyde liefhebbers tezamen gestelt*, Amsterdam 1664.

cities. In the Spanish Netherlands, the Habsburg court commissioned similar enterprises for Antwerp, Brussels, Mechelen and other urban centres and also for regions and provinces in the South. Such works were often published at key moments in the histories of the cities or provinces whose political elite promoted and bought chorographies.

The production of topographical-historical descriptions was prompted by the renewed interest in the works of the ancient geographer Strabo of Amasia (64/63 B.C.–c. 23), whose *Geography* provided the basis for the detailed geographical surveys of a region or a city, its people, its flora and fauna and reference to its history.³ In his contribution to geographical knowledge Strabo focused on specific areas and not on the whole earth or the cosmos like his successor Claudius Ptolemy, who laid the foundation for the great cosmographies of the early modern period.⁴ While Ptolemy relied on mathematical-astronomical calculations, Strabo preferred a historical-descriptive approach to geography. Strabo's concept was first tested in Italy by the humanist scholar and papal secretary Flavio Biondo, whose *Italia Illustrata* (1453) reintroduced the chorographical genre to European scholarship. Although not the first to follow in Biondo's footsteps, the Italian merchant-scholar Ludovico Guicciardini popularized chorographies in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century.⁵ His *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, first published in 1567, began with a glowing review of Guicciardini's adopted city, Antwerp, and subsequently covered the provinces of the Low Countries using the seventeen titles of Philip II as a framework for his survey. Although initially written in Italian for his compatriots in the Netherlands, the *Descrittione* was received with great interest in the Low Countries, and saw numerous editions in various languages and from different, often competing publishing houses in Antwerp and in Amsterdam.⁶ Despite its popularity, the work also met with some criticism, notably from learned circles. The Haarlem physician and

³ Strabo, *The Geography*, transl. by Horace L. Jones, Cambridge/Mass. (Harvard University Press) 1917–1932.

⁴ On Strabo see Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London (Routledge) 2000; Edward Ch.L. van der Vliet, *Strabo over landen, volken en steden*, Assen (van Gorcum) 1977.

⁵ Matthaeus Herbenus' *Libellus in Traiecto instaurato*, a topographical-historical description of the author's hometown, Maastricht, of 1485 closely followed as the title suggests Flavio Biondo's *Romae Instauratae* (1471), but it was never published.

⁶ On the publication history of Guicciardini's work see Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The history of Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries', *Quaerendo* 12, 1, 1982, pp. 22–51. See also Henk van der Heijden and Kees Oomen, *De 'beschrijving van*

humanist scholar Hadrianus Junius, for instance, criticized the Italian for his lack of research and his concentration on the present at the expense of the historical roots of the provinces and their inhabitants. Junius prepared his own contribution to chorographical scholarship, a historical-chorographical survey of Holland, the *Batavia*, which, however, was only published posthumously, and then only incompletely, in 1588.⁷ While both the approaches of Guicciardini and Junius were adopted by chorographers in the seventeenth century, Junius' emphasis on archival research, the incorporation of authentic sources and the discussion of etymological and archaeological evidence became more prominent in the Northern Netherlands both among learned authors and 'amateur historians'.⁸ It might be argued that the search for a new, alternative, past, which could be used to provide the new Dutch Republic with a new genealogy and history independent from its old ties to the Habsburg Empire and the Catholic Church, would be more fruitful when utilizing Junius' chorographical approach rather than Guicciardini's. As we shall see, Southern chorographies, whose authors (and readers) were more interested in emphasizing continuity rather than change, cited Guicciardini more frequently than did their Northern counterparts. This, however, does not mean that Southern chorographies simply updated Guicciardini's text. They utilized chorographical surveys for their own purposes and took the genre in particular directions.

The production of chorographies in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century went through several cycles which often responded to key events in urban, regional and national history. Interest in Amsterdam, as could be seen from the publication dates from van Meurs' and Doornik's presses coincided with the last phase of the massive urban extension programme of the city's town planners. Other peak times of chorographical productions coincided, perhaps not surprisingly, with the Twelve Years' Truce and with the Treaties of Westphalia, when the

de Nederlanden' door Lodovico Guicciardini in het kader van zijn tijd, Cartographica Historica 2, Alphen (Canaletto/Repro-Holland) 2001.

⁷ Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia*, Leiden (Raphelengius) 1588. On Junius see, for instance, E.O.G. Haitma Mulier, 'De eerste Hollandse Stadsbeschrijvingen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 9, 1993, pp. 97–116, here especially pp. 101–102.

⁸ I am grateful to Eddy Verbaan for this information. Verbaan will further develop the distinction between the Guicciardinian and the Junian approach to chorographies in his PhD dissertation.

political boundaries of the two states of the Low Countries were finally settled. In total more than fifty urban and regional chorographies were published in the United Provinces alone in the roughly eighty years, starting in 1611 with Johannes Isacius Pontanus' Latin *Rerum et Urbis Amstelodamensium Historia* and culminating in Caspar Commelin's massive *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam* in 1693.⁹ In the Spanish Netherlands the Archdukes Albert and Isabella specifically sponsored and supported a chorographical programme, which was delivered through a range of topographical-historical surveys mainly written by their court historian Jean Baptiste Gramaye in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In tandem with urban chorographies, provinces and regions in the Low Countries were also described in chorographical works. These were frequently commissioned by the provincial estates and in the South, again, by the Habsburg court, and were often the work of authors who already had written urban chorographies, and who shifted easily between the two areas.

Olfert Dapper was a prolific author with a keen eye for geography and history well beyond Amsterdam's city walls and canal systems. He was particularly fascinated by the Arab and African world and indeed wrote more about Syria and Palestine than about his home town.¹⁰ This physician, who had studied medicine in Utrecht, explained the nature of his book on Amsterdam, his aims and intentions and the role of chorographical studies as a form of historical writing, in the dedication to his patron, Amsterdam's regent and *oud-burgomaster* Kornelis Witsen. In the preface to the *Historische Beschryving*, he described his work as a patriotic enterprise, written to remind his fellow citizens of the valiant deeds of their fathers and forefathers, who, like their ancient

⁹ Both authors and their studies on Amsterdam will be discussed in Chapter I. The number of urban chorographies is based on my research. For the Northern Netherlands see also E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, G.A.C., van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland, 1500–1800*, The Hague (Nederlands Historisch Genootschap) 1990.

¹⁰ See for instance, his *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid*, Amsterdam (Meurs) 1668; *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschryving van gantsch Syrie en Palestyn, of Heilige Lant*, Amsterdam (Meurs) 1677; *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche eylanden: als Madagaskar, of Sant Laurens, Sant Thomee, d'eilanden van Kanarien, Kaep de Verd, Malta, en andere*, Amsterdam (Meurs) 1668; *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschryving van Syrië, behelsende Mesopotamië, Babyloë, Assyrië, Anatolië of Klein Asië, Arabië*, Amsterdam (Meurs) 1680. All of these books were published by Jacob van Meurs, who clearly regarded Dapper as an eminently marketable author.

role models Leonidas, Scipio and Hannibal, had given their lives in the defence of their city and their country.¹¹ Retelling the old heroic tales and mixing them with new stories to educate the community and to strengthen communal ties was, he pointed out, one important part of the task that he had set himself with this study. It was combined with a survey of the architectural manifestations of Amsterdam's greatness, which now included the "eighth wonder of the world", the city's magnificent new Town Hall. It also offered a discussion of Amsterdam's origins, an overview of its government and a description of the surrounding countryside. All this was supported by a series of spectacular engravings showing the architectural 'highlights' and landmarks of the city. Dapper then proved his credentials as a serious researcher by referring to the municipal documents he had consulted with the help of Witsen's son to convince sceptical readers that a physician was just as capable of writing a professional chorographical study of Amsterdam as any academic historian. Dapper bowed to the canon of ancient authors and cited, in good humanist tradition, Cicero and Seneca, but saw his own contribution to scholarship not so much in the display of his rhetorical abilities acquired through the reception of classical examples, but in the presentation of the "simple and naked truth" written in his vernacular Dutch, which he found much more stimulating than any learned expression of eloquent oration. Moreover, he referred to an already existing, indigenous tradition of Amsterdam chorographies, to which he aimed to contribute with his study.

Dapper's methodological statement was certainly not simply the plea of an educated amateur in search of scholarly recognition for his work.¹² His reflections on chorographical style and content were very poised, and responded to the continuing intellectual discussions not just in the Low Countries, but also in the wider European Republic of Letters about the conventions and requirements of historical writing and the role of antiquarianism within or outside this process. These debates were not static, but, while initially still acknowledging

¹¹ These and the following references are taken from Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Introduction. This study is based on the copy of Dapper's book preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

¹² Dapper stood at the cross roads of the professional separation of humanities and sciences, which only became common in the eighteenth century. On the fluidity and cross-fertilization of historical and medical studies see most recently: Gianna Pomata, Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Introduction', in: *ibid.* (eds.), *Historia. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/Mass. (MIT Press) 2005, pp. 1–38.

the Strabonian origins of the genre, changed focus and developed a new and different agenda in the course of the seventeenth century, in which Dapper's work was only one milestone among others in the search for a theory and practice of the writing of (urban) history. Earlier writers, such as the above-mentioned Johannes Isacius Pontanus, and later chorographers such as Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn and Arend van Slichtenhorst expressed their own views on the genre in their contributions to urban, local and national scholarship.¹³

The present study charts this process. It analyzes the development of chorographies in the Low Countries and the role of chorographical writings in the debates on history and antiquarianism as two interrelated approaches to an understanding and a learned presentation of the past. Any such analysis starts inevitably with a comment on Arnaldo Momigliano's seminal article *Ancient History and the Antiquarian*, where he proposed the still widely accepted distinction between historical writing as narrative and antiquarian research as description.¹⁴ In his view, historians wrote exemplary stories of great men, antiquarians researched institutions and collected artefacts; historians were concerned with elegance and eloquence; antiquarians focused on original documents and citations. Historians took classical history as their template to move and to educate their readers with examples of moral conduct; antiquarians were concerned with the 'jetsam of history'.¹⁵ These rather sweeping generalizations, which oversimplify Momigliano's argument, have been challenged in recent years. Scholars interested in the history of historiography now recognize that the two modes of writing about the past were far more hybrid and less disparate than had been suggested by Momigliano, who saw antiquarians as would-be historians who had simply got too entangled with detail.¹⁶

¹³ On Boxhorn and van Slichtenhorst and their works see Chapter VII of the present study.

¹⁴ Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', in: *ibid.*, *Studies in Historiography*, London (Weidenfeld and Nicholson) 1966, pp. 1–39.

¹⁵ For this image see, for instance, Arnoldus Buchelius' letter to Franciscus Sweertius, 30 November 1615, cited in Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht, Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw, Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2001, p. 27.

¹⁶ For a critique on Momigliano see, for instance, Mark Salber Phillips, 'Reconsiderations on History and Antiquarianism: Arnaldo Momigliano and the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58, 1996, pp. 297–316. See also the essays in Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (eds.), *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice, 1700–1850*, Aldershot (Ashgate) 1999.

Fritz Levy has recently pointed out that, for contemporaries, these distinctions were far less clear-cut in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth century, when amateur antiquarians became a source of ridicule for their alleged obsession with detail and with ancient and medieval 'clutter'.¹⁷ He calls for a reassessment of the relationship of the two approaches to the past in seventeenth-century writings. Levy cites William Camden's own comments on the two genres as evidence that contemporary scholars could distinguish very well between the two, but had no difficulties in transgressing the boundaries of method and approach associated with the writing of histories or antiquarian studies when it suited their purpose. Similar observations have been made about the works of Hugo Grotius, who also moved between antiquarian and 'historical' modes of writing.¹⁸ The present study will respond to the suggestions of Levy (and others) by highlighting the similarities rather than the distinctions between the works of historians and antiquarians. It will be argued that the chorographical genre was used by scholars and amateur historians to combine both forms of historiography and that authors found their own approach to chorographies while incorporating both narrative and descriptive elements into their writings.¹⁹ This combination was not introduced as a way of blurring the boundaries between history and antiquarianism, nor

¹⁷ Fritz L. Levy, 'Afterword', in: Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, Santa Barbara/Cal. (Huntington Library Press) 2006, pp. 407–419. On Camden see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford (Oxford University Press) 1995. On antiquarians in the eighteenth century see Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, London (Hambledon) 2004. For the Netherlands see Joke Roelevink, 'Historia et antiquitates. Het geschiedenisonderwijs aan het Athenaeum Illustre van Amsterdam in de achttiende eeuw tussen polyhistorie en Verlichting', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 10, 1983, pp. 281–301 and *ibid.*, *Gedictoord verleden. Het onderwijs in de algemene geschiedenis aan de universiteit van Utrecht, 1735–1839*, Amsterdam-Maarsen (APA) 1986.

¹⁸ E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Grotius, Hooft, and the Writing of History of the Dutch Republic', in: Alastair C. Duke, Coenraad A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands, Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 8, Zutphen (De Walburg Pers) 1985, pp. 55–72. On Grotius' struggle with genres see also Markus Völkel, 'Hugo Grotius' Grollae obsidio cum annexis von 1629: Ein frühneuzeitlicher Historiker zwischen rhetorischer (Text) und empirischer Evidenz (Kartographie)', in: Gabriele Wimböck, Karin Leonhard, Markus Friedrich (eds.), with Frank Büttner, *Evidentia. Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin (Lit-Verlag) 2007, pp. 85–112.

¹⁹ For this approach see also E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De eerste Hollandse Stadsbeschrijvingen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw'. This interpretation thus challenges Henk van Nierop's earlier assessment of chorographies as "thoroughly antiquarian in approach".

was it simply a very practical response to the newly drawn boundaries between the two countries, that emerged from the Eighty Years' War, and which required detailed descriptions often visualized in maps of what was within and what was outside a city's or region's border. In many cases, this combination of the traditionally distinct genres was accompanied by thoughtful theoretical and methodological considerations, which were based on the Strabonian model of chorographical writings, but also responded to an ongoing debate on the '*artes historicae*' among scholars across Europe.²⁰ Much of Camden's research and writing was the result of his discussions and exchanges with other European scholars. It has been pointed out that seventeenth-century chorography in England was influenced by leading examples from the Continent and, most notably, by intellectuals from the Low Countries such as Emmanuel van Meteren and Abraham Ortelius, who both lived and worked in London, but who also maintained an extensive network of epistolary exchanges which crossed national (and sometimes confessional) lines.

While much has been written on the English chorographical (and antiquarian) tradition in recent years, their Netherlandish role models have so far not received the scholarly attention that they deserve.²¹ Apart from a few pioneering studies by E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, historians working on identity and memory in the early modern Low Countries have, until recently, largely ignored chorographies and their authors as important sources for an understanding of the writing of history in the seventeenth century and as an arena for the creation of memories and identities.²² Only in the last years have case studies such as Sandra Langereis' analysis of two seventeenth-century Dutch

See Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city: Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 20, 1993, pp. 268–282, here p. 273.

²⁰ Recent studies that have analyzed some of these international intellectual networks include Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648). Studies in the Latin histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius*, Copenhagen (Museum Tusculanum) 2002; Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik. Katholische Geschichtsschreibung im barocken Heiligen Römischen Reich*, Husum (Matthiesen) 2003.

²¹ For recent studies in English on early modern historiography see, for instance, Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time*; Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England*, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1997; *ibid.*, *Antiquaries*; Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*.

²² For instance E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De eerste Hollandse Stadsbeschrijvingen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw'; *ibid.*, 'Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-century Province of Holland', in: Arthur L. Wheelock, Adele Seeff (eds.), *The Public and the*

antiquarians, Arnoldus Buchelius and Petrus Scriverius and their networks, raised academic interest in the genre.²³ This has been supplemented by a number of recent annotated editions of chorographical studies.²⁴

Interest in the urban and regional historiography of the Southern Netherlands has been predominantly focused on the late Middle Ages.²⁵ A research project entitled: *Centralization or Particularism? The Development of National Identities in the Low Countries (1250–1585)* which was recently completed at the University of Leiden analyzed regional historiography and the dynamics of identity formation in the late medieval Low Countries focusing on Brabant and Gelderland.²⁶ But so

Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age, Newark (University of Delaware Press) 2000, pp. 24–32.

²³ Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2001. Eddy Verbaan is currently completing a doctoral dissertation on early chorographies in Holland to be submitted to the University of Leiden. On the networks of the Dutch Republic of Letters see also Saskia Stegeman, *Patronage and Services in the Republic of Letters. The network of Theodorus Janssonius van Almelooveen (1657–1712)*, Amsterdam & Utrecht (APA) 2005.

²⁴ S. Langereis, L. Nellissen T. Bastiansen (eds.), *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen, stad der Bataven*, Nijmegen (Sun) 1999.

²⁵ Robert Stein, *Politiek en Historiografie, Het ontstaanmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Leuven (Peeters) 1994; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *De Gentse Memorieboeken als spiegel van stedelijk historisch bewustzijn (14de tot 16de eeuw)*, Ghent (Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde) 1998; ead., 'S'imaginer le passé et le présent: conscience historique et identité urbaine en Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge', in: Hanno Brand/Pierre Monnet/Martial Staub (eds.), *Memoria, Communitas, Civitas. Mémoire et Conscience Urbaines en Occident à la Fin du Moyen Âge* (Beiheft der Francia 55), Ostfildern 2003, pp. 167–181; *ibid.*, *Om beters wille. Rederijerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 2008. Sjoerd Bijker, Robert Stein, 'Barlandus en de Brabantse geschiedschrijving', in: Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, Michiel Verweij (eds.), *De kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant door Adrianus Barlandus. Vertaling, inleiding en voortzetting onder redactie van Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld*, Den Bosch (Adr. Heinen) 2004, pp. 11–31; Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Le Brabant, terre de sainteté à travers l'oeuvre de Jean Gielemans († 1487)', in: Sofia Boesch Gajano, Raimondo Michetti (eds.), *Europa Sacra, Raccolte agiografiche e identità politiche in Europa fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, Rome (Carocci) 2002, pp. 34–44. See also her: 'Patriotic saints or patriotic hagiography in Brabant at the end of the Middle Ages?', in: Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, Gabriela Signori (eds.), *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, Stuttgart (Steiner) 2007, pp. 113–122.

²⁶ Results of the project are published in Robert Stein & Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations, Shaping Identity in the Low Countries 1300–1650*, Leiden (Brill) 2010.

far no in-depth comparison of the development of the genre in the two newly created states in the seventeenth century has been attempted.

This is all the more surprising since scholars have long recognized the Dutch Revolt and the Eighty Years' War as 'seismic events', where long-established cultural landmarks crumbled and traditional structures of authority and belief came under stress, and where new modes of thinking about the past and the present influenced and were influenced by new modes of writing about them. Revolutionary acts such as the Act of Abjuration of 1581, by which the signatories declared the sovereignty of Philip II over the Netherlands null and void, needed to be explained, not least by a reinterpretation of history. At a time when tradition and precedent still provided the most powerful arguments for the affirmation of rights and regulations and for the settlements of disputes, the past offered a quarry of interpretations of the origins of present crises and a justification for future action. The politics of memory, the appropriation of a version of the past which could accommodate and support present politics and attitudes in the North and in the South played a key role in the public debates about war and peace and about forms of government and religion.²⁷ They also left a lasting legacy of difference between the cultures of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands. How this legacy was formed by the different groups in Netherlandish society employing a multitude of commemorative media, to which chorographies contributed, has yet to be properly examined.²⁸

The following study thus has two aims. Firstly, it analyzes historiographical conventions, approaches and methodologies in choro-

²⁷ For public debates in the early seventeenth century see Judith Pollmann, 'No man's land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585–1621', in: Robert Stein & Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations*, pp. 241–261.

²⁸ New and important insights into the interplay between the public and the private memory of the Dutch Revolt from a comparative perspective can be expected from the Vici Project "Tales of the Revolt: Memory. Oblivion and Identity in the Low Countries, 1566–1700", which started under the guidance of Judith Pollmann at Leiden University in September 2008. It needs to be pointed out, that groups outside Netherlandish society also contributed to the formation of a distinct Dutch and Netherlandish identity. Research, for instance, into the Spanish view of war and partition in the Netherlands would be very interesting. See here Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in Spaanse ogen. De Nederlanden in Spaanse historische en literaire teksten (circa 1548–1673)*, Nijmegen (Vantilt) 2003. See also her 'The Pelican and its Ungrateful Children. The Construction and Evolution of the Image of Dutch Rebelliousness in Golden Age Spain', *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, 4–5, 2007, pp. 285–302.

graphical writings, and sees how they change over time. The town and regional histories in the Northern and Southern Netherlands eventually pursued distinctly different historiographical courses, which had major implications both for the style of the works and for their contents. The following chapters will discuss whether and how new elements and deviations from tradition, influenced by contemporary developments in the Low Countries, were gradually integrated into the writings of a town's or region's past and the descriptions of its topography. These developments are contextualized within a wider analysis of changes in historical scholarship in the seventeenth century recently summarized by Daniel Woolf under five main headings, which, although specifically produced for the historiography of early modern England, can also be applied to the role of Netherlandish chorographies.²⁹ Woolf sees in this period, firstly, a widening participation of greater sections of society in the construction of a historical mental map, in other words in a periodization of the past. This is, secondly, accompanied by the development of a visual sense of the past, which, as can certainly be demonstrated for the Low Countries, found its expression in a growing interest in artefacts and material remains such as coins, historical inscriptions and architecture and their interpretation as evidence of the past in chorographical texts and other historical writings. These changes were, thirdly, discussed within learned circles who acknowledged the differences between genres and their particular methods and approaches, which were still very much in flux. In this process scholars were able and willing, as has already been pointed out with the examples of Camden and Grotius, to transgress the boundaries between the different modes of writing about the past. Fourthly, Woolf points out that due to the political upheavals of the time—in Britain the Civil Wars of the 1640s, in the Low Countries the Dutch Revolt and the Eighty Years' War and in France the Wars of Religion—historiography now shifted from its emphasis on exemplary stories to “the primacy of causal relationships between diachronically contiguous and proximate events”.³⁰ The humanist-Ciceronian claim of *Historia* as the presentation of timeless, exemplary stories came under threat. Fifthly, at the same time, writers conceded that there were gaps

²⁹ Daniel Woolf, ‘From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500–1700’, in: Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp. 31–67, here p. 36.

³⁰ Daniel Woolf, ‘From Hystories to the Historical’, p. 36.

in their knowledge which were now no longer filled with speculative stories or improbable chronologies and mixtures of fable and folklore. The present study puts these criteria to the test for chorographical writing in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. It thus contributes to the growing interest in the history of historiography which is, in a way, a response to the challenges to the discipline by contemporary society, and discussions around 'Academic' and 'Public' History (topics which, as will be shown, were certainly also relevant for the agents of a 'political memory' in the seventeenth-century Low Countries).

The second aim of this study is to contribute to the current interest in 'cultures of memory' and 'memory studies', which has moved from research focused on the modern world on the one hand, and on the other, the seminal works undertaken by the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann on the pre-classical period to an inquiry into memory practices in the early modern period.³¹ In this context the study will utilize Aleida Assmann's concept of 'political memory' for its assessment of the role of chorography as a popular genre used by civic and provincial elites to construct a canon of traditions and a usable image of the past, which might serve to stabilize a desired memory of key events that shaped the identities of the Low Countries in the seventeenth century.³² Based on the different strands of memory studies presented by scholars from such different disciplines as politics, sociology, history,

³¹ The first comprehensive and influential study on modern cultures of memory is undoubtedly Pierre Nora's massive project on *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris (Edition Gallimard) 1984, which has inaugurated a wealth of similar studies on places of memory in different national historiographies. See, for instance: Etienne François, Hagen Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols. Munich (Beck) 2001; Maarten Prak (ed.), *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam (Bert Bakker) 2006; Jo Tollebeek (ed.), *Het geheugen van de Lage Landen*, Rekkem (Ons Erfdeel) 2009. For Jan Assmann's approach see his seminal *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Munich (Beck) 1992. For an overview of developments in the field see, for instance, Karen Till, 'Memory Studies', *History Workshop Journal* 62, 2006, pp. 325–341; Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin/New York (de Gruyter) 2008.

³² For the terminology see Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory, From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past', in: Christian Emden, David Midgley (eds.), *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German-Speaking World Since 1500*, Oxford/Bern/Berlin (Peter Lang) 2004, pp. 23–36. She has further elaborated this concept in her *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, Munich (Beck) 2006. See also her 'Transformations between history and memory', *Social Research* 75, 1, 2008, pp. 49–72. I do not share Assmann's assumption that a critical historiography only appeared from the nineteenth century onwards.

anthropology and psychology over the last thirty years—which have in many cases been inspired by earlier research, notably by Maurice Halbwachs' considerations on the interplay between individual memory and society—Assmann proposes four categories of memory. She distinguishes between individual, social, cultural and political memory, all of which are presented as ways in which both societies and individuals can make sense of their pasts and, therefore, their present.³³ In this 'memory-quartet', the development of a 'political memory' is seen as a top-down process, facilitated and determined by those members of society who had access to archives and expertise in historical and other literature and the ability, time and money to combine knowledge and power to produce a compelling, consensual narrative of the past in textual or non-textual form to support and confirm existing power structures within an urban, provincial or national society. The construction of a 'political memory' thus offers one—usually elite—interpretation and commemoration of past events, which is particularly important in early modern society, with its use of tradition and precedent as a marker of legitimacy.³⁴ However, this offer of a version of the past, which manifested itself frequently, but by no means exclusively, in written texts, thus in early modern historiography, is just one among many modes of remembering in which an interpretation of current policy and a construction of belonging was harnessed to history. Manifestations of a constructed common past could assume different expressions both in the public sphere of plays, processions and popular songs in the more private space of diaries and memoirs. It is difficult to assess the success of chorographies as a particular form of memory practice within the wider 'market' of commemorative media on offer to the different social groups in the United Provinces and in the Spanish Netherlands. It is equally difficult to assess the reception of these texts by men and women in search of a 'usable past' designed to make sense of their present. A sense of belonging could be attached to different, sometimes overlapping, sometimes competing loyalties to

³³ Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris (Albin Michel) 1994, first published 1925.

³⁴ Insightful theoretical considerations on the role of historical texts produced to establish the political memory of an elite are offered in: Thomas Fuchs, *Geschichtsbe-wusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung, Städte-chroniken, Kirchenbücher und historische Befragungen in Hessen, 1500–1800*, Marburg (Verein für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde) 2006. See also Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries*, Introduction.

individuals and groups in society. This is certainly as much the case for urban identity as it is for national identity.³⁵

In the absence of quantitative evidence about print runs, sales figures and reviews, this study will not try to rank the importance of chorographies in comparison with other versions of national, regional and urban history. It can, however, be demonstrated that chorographies were not written in a literary vacuum. They responded to and incorporated other contemporary writings, such as biographies, funeral literature, dramas and poems, thus offering a rich tapestry of commemorative texts which can be analyzed in search of an urban or provincial identity, by highlighting common features referenced and cross-referenced in other media which might be identified as markers of this identity. "National" histories such as Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor's *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen* were, for example, frequently cited and often copied verbatim in regional and urban chorographies of the North.³⁶ These chorographies also included transcripts of and references to popular songs and personal narratives of ordinary men and women, public processions and commemorative festivals thus combining elements of what Aleida Assmann defines as "social" or "interactive memory" of orally and personally transmitted histories with an elite version of the past fixed in historiography.³⁷ Chorographies also responded to urban architecture by including engravings of key buildings and places of civic importance, and with detailed descriptions of their iconographic programmes. Olfert Dapper, for instance, dedicated no less than fifty pages of his book to a meticulous survey of Amsterdam's new Town Hall and the sculptures and images on display there, thus using one form of commemorative media to describe another.³⁸

These memory practices were, therefore, more closely interrelated than Assmann assumes for the early modern period. It will be argued

³⁵ The literature on national identity, and also on regional and urban identity, is vast. Research has been most strongly influenced by Benedict Anderson's seminal *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. London/New York (Verso) 1991, first published 1983.

³⁶ Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor, *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen*, Leiden (Govert Basson) and Amsterdam (Michiel Colyn) 1621–1634.

³⁷ Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory, From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past'; *ibid.*, 'Transformations between history and memory'.

³⁸ Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, pp. 328–377.

that it was this inclusive character, in particular, that ensured the success of these texts among a wider readership.

Most of the texts were sponsored by the political elite, such as *burgomasters* and regents, and, in Amsterdam, the East India Company, and by provincial estates. Authors were recruited from wider segments of the urban and provincial elite, including the Protestant and Catholic clergy, town clerks and academics. With an emphasis on the use of the vernacular, which became a trade mark of these texts in the Northern Netherlands, they addressed a wider readership than scholarly circles of academics and policy makers. This is not the case in the Southern Netherlands, where the majority of the publications were written in Latin and often aimed at international, educated readership.³⁹ In most cases a Dutch translation was not issued. Where it appeared, for instance for Antonius Sanderus' *Flandria Illustrata*, there was a considerable gap between the publication of the original and its translation.⁴⁰ Very few authors in the South produced chorographies in Dutch.⁴¹

Chorographical descriptions of cities, provinces and regions established or confirmed both spatial and cultural identities and the boundaries between the two states of the Low Countries and also between towns, cities and provinces in the United Provinces and the Habsburg Netherlands, whose political elites were jockeying for position in newly created political arenas. This book thus not only presents a new, cross-border analysis of early modern identity formation in the Netherlands, but also broadens an often still very hollandocentric view of Dutch identity with the inclusion of texts written from the eastern 'peripheries' of the United Provinces such as Drenthe, Overijssel and Gelderland. In trying to draft a wider geographical picture of the landscapes of memory, it challenges the still prevalent interpretation of Dutch historiography in its 'Golden Age' as the unfolding of a unilateral success story. War and partition left a very different legacy in the different parts of the United Provinces, which is evident in the topographical-historical constructions of towns such as Nijmegen or Coevorden, as compared with the narratives of the urban centres of the North Sea provinces. Economic and political winners and losers

³⁹ See Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*.

⁴⁰ For Antonius Sanderus' chorographies and their translations see Chapter VII.

⁴¹ See, for instance, Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven's *Chroniike van den Hertoghen van Brabant*, Antwerp (Vriendt) 1606, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

of the war employed chorographers to present urban or regional space in the best possible light by highlighting (or eradicating) landmarks of their topography and key events in their pasts. The management of memory (in its various manifestations) also included the process of oblivion. While some events were emphasized, others had to be firmly written out of the desired narrative. Moreover, the experience of time was (and is) dependent upon what Aleida Assmann, in analogy to Halbwachs' concept of social frames, has called 'cultural time frames' which determine its interpretation and action.⁴² The perception of time in terms of 'decline' or 'renewal', 'standstill' or 'change', 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' underlined the presentation of these pasts in different ways corresponding with the general feeling of gain or loss in the cities and regions involved in the Eighty Years' War. It gave winners and loser of the war a frame in which to establish a vision of themselves, both in their own right and vis-à-vis their competitors.⁴³ In some respects the study thus provides a continuation of the above-mentioned Leiden project studying the tensions between regional, urban and the emerging supra-regional identities in the Low Countries under the Habsburgs. While the Leiden team focused on changing identities through the unification of the Habsburg territories, the present study addresses the impact of the partial collapse of Habsburg power in the Low Countries and the establishment of new political entities on traditions and interpretations of the past. It analyzes the way in which regional and urban identities, presented through chorographical texts responded to the two new states established on the territory of the Low Countries.

In this context, it is important to study not only what German historiography has called *Zeitgeschichte* (the remarkable events of the present time), but, perhaps more importantly, *Vergangenheitsgeschichte* (the history of a distant past). Origin and other myths, genealogies

⁴² Maurice Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*, transl. and repr. Frankfurt (Fischer) 1985, p. 21.

⁴³ For the concept of time frames see again Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory'. Interpretations of the competitive nature of these texts vary. For E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, whose studies mainly focus on Holland's early urban chorographies competition was not a motor for the production of these texts. Casting wider the net of a chorographical survey, I will argue that both urban and regional chorographies constantly employed comparisons with Holland in general and with Amsterdam in particular, and drew much of their post-war identity formation from these comparisons. For Haitsma Mulier's assessment see his 'Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-century Province of Holland'.

and lineage, heroes and villains of medieval or earlier times, together with the accounts of the more recent past, supplied narratives that were used to construct community and identity and to connect early modern societies with a desired history. It remains to be seen whether and where older traditions persisted in these interpretations or were replaced by a new version of the events of the past accommodating a new understanding of the present.

Besides these meta-interpretations of change over time (or the lack of it), chorographers employed frameworks taken from the different intellectual discourses prevalent in the seventeenth century. These included the confessional discourse of Calvinist and Counter-Reformation arguments, the humanist discourse in its various manifestations, focusing not least on the dichotomy of civility and barbarism, and its responses, the legal discourse of rights, focusing, not surprisingly, on the right of resistance and on the defence of their traditional liberties. It will be demonstrated how these discourses, and the events described in the various political and cultural languages of the time changed over the period of roughly eighty years. Sometimes these changed in very subtle ways which still paid homage to an established canonicity, but which interpreted events in a different light, sometimes, as will be seen, 'playing' with once-venerable role models, and shifting the boundaries of what had been traditional interpretations to the brink of ridicule without, however, completely abandoning an established set of markers of identity. These changes often corresponded with generational change. Members of a younger generation often 'shifted the goalposts' of an interpretation of the past, which, however, was more concerned with nuance than with a radical overhaul of what needed to be remembered and what became obsolete in a memory-package that provided a compass for the present.

It has been pointed out that the period witnessed the return of a unified authorial voice, replacing the often anonymous medieval chroniclers.⁴⁴ Authors now presented themselves as researchers, as eyewitnesses of what was described: in short, they claimed authority for their texts, and they gradually exchanged rhetorical for empirical evidence as the most convincing argument for the 'truth' of their version of the past, leading eventually to the antiquarian's claim that

⁴⁴ Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', p. 46.

artefacts provide “evidence that will not lie”.⁴⁵ This greater emphasis on individual approaches in Dutch chorographies, which has already been pointed out by E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, had repercussions on the approach and focus of the studies in question here. Reformed ministers with an amateur interest in local and regional chorographies chose a distinctly different style from authors writing to prove their academic credentials in the world of learning. Scholars at the centre of the Republic of Letters with good access to recent literature chose a different approach to their topic than those on the geographical and social margins of the intellectual world who had only a limited knowledge of current academic trends and debates. The study describes a world of chorographical writings, which fluctuated between the poles of ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ history, and examines their significance for the writing of urban and regional identities. Over time these poles drifted further apart, leading to the situation where by the eighteenth century regional and urban descriptions had become the preoccupation of the erudite amateur antiquarians. The writings in the Southern Netherlands present a similar pattern with both amateurs, who were very often members of the Catholic clergy, and academics contributing to the development of the genre. Here, however, interest in the production of such texts surged during the reign of the Archdukes, but was less widespread in the later decades of the seventeenth century. As has been frequently pointed out by historians of the Southern Netherlands, those concerned to promote a distinct version of history and identity in the Southern provinces under Habsburg rule often used other means of than texts to convey their unifying message, exploiting processions and spectacles and the visual arts.⁴⁶ Moreover, chorographers in neither Flanders nor Brabant could draw on a distinct medieval tradition of urban chronicles.⁴⁷ The chorographical texts, however, which were available, responded to the same intellectual demands on

⁴⁵ Markus Völkel, ‘Hugo Grotius’ Grollae obsidio cum annexis von 1629: Ein frühneuzeitlicher Historiker zwischen rhetorischer (Text) und empirischer Evidenz (Kartographie)’. The quote is taken from Woolf, ‘From Hystories to the Historical’, p. 46.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Margit Thófnér, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*, Zwolle (Waanders) 2007. See also Luc Duerloo, ‘Pietas Albertina’. *Dynastieke vroomheid en herbouw van het vorstelijke gezag*, *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 112, 1997, pp. 1–18.

⁴⁷ For a recent discussion of the lack of urban chronicle traditions in Flanders and Brabant see Anne-Laure van Bruaene, ‘L’Ecriture de la Mémoire Urbaine en Flandere et en Brabant (XIV^e–XVI^e Siècle)’, in: Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, Elodie

approaches and style as their northern equivalents. Here, too, changes over time are clearly detectable. With an intensity equal to that in the North, Southern chorographers sought to convey a distinct picture of identity which often highlighted similarities between town, cities and regions of the Habsburg Netherlands more than differences. This did not, however, exclude competition and rivalry between cities and provinces from these images.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the chorographical genre went into decline. This was, perhaps, partly due to the fact that by then the identity of the two Netherlandish states, and of the cities and provinces within these states, was well established and the eruptions of the Eighty Years' War had abated. Although the Low Countries remained the contested battlefield of the all too frequent European wars of the eighteenth century, identity in the North and in the South became more or less fixed. Border conflicts were just that: conflicts between two distinctly different states. In terms of genre interest now focused on a national narrative history, which in the Dutch Republic was championed by authors such as Jan Wagenaar, whose multi-volume *Vaderlandsche Historie* set the agenda for prominent national texts in the United Provinces.⁴⁸ While the production of chorographies still continued to some extent, it was replaced by national histories on the one hand, presented in the North increasingly through the prism of the province of Holland, and on the other, by a more pronounced use of antiquarianism to present artefacts, coins, heraldry and genealogy, separate from historical accounts as was done for example by Gerard van Loon and Frans van Mieris.⁴⁹ In the Southern Netherlands

Lecuppre-Desjardin (eds.), *Villes des Flandres et d'Italie (XIII^e–XVI^e Siècle)*, Turnhout (Brepols) 2008, pp. 149–164.

⁴⁸ Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigte Nederlanden*, 21 volumes, Amsterdam (Isaak Tirion) 1749–1759. It is telling, however, that Wagenaar started his career in history as city historian of Amsterdam. He also wrote a study on the city commissioned by Amsterdam's regents: *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen... beschreeven*, Amsterdam 1760–1767. A Southern equivalent to Wagenaar's study was not produced at the time. On Netherlandish historiography in the eighteenth century see Tom Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond, Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715–1794*, Hilversum (Verloren) 1998; Jo Tollebeek et al. (eds.), *De palimpsest. Geschiedschrijving in de Nederlanden 1500–2000*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2002. See also Tom Verschaffel, 'The modernization of historiography in 18th-century Belgium', *History of European Ideas* 31, 2, 2005, pp. 135–146.

⁴⁹ Gerard van Loon, *Inleiding tot de hedendaagse Penningkunde*, 2nd ed. The Hague (Christiaan van Lom) 1734; *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen*, 4 vols.,

demands for a national history gathered momentum in the second part of the eighteenth century under the auspices of the newly created *Académie Impériale et Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*. Earlier studies still fell within the domain of monastic and ecclesiastical history and were written by members of the Jesuit and other orders, who utilized older historiographical traditions such as hagiography and episcopal calendars in search of a complete survey of the areas under review.⁵⁰ This strategy of combining hagiography and church history in its Counter-Reformation form with chorography was characteristic of the writings produced by the members of orders who were actively engaged in historiography, notably the Jesuits and the Benedictines, in the seventeenth century. Their historiographical strategies have, so far, not been adequately researched for the Habsburg Netherlands.⁵¹ Simon Ditchfield has offered valuable insights into the development and interplay of both genres in Italy; Stefan Benz has extensively covered Catholic historiography in the Holy Roman Empire (with a limited interest in its western fringes).⁵² An assessment of these genres and their influence on the literature produced for and in the Habsburg Netherlands in the seventeenth century is therefore still needed.

The presentation of the material in this study is necessarily selective. The analysis will focus on particular chorographies written in praise of cities and of some provinces in both parts of the Low Countries.⁵³ Selection criteria are based on a grid of synchronic and diachronic categories. The lowest common denominator chosen was publication:

The Hague (Christiaan van Lom) 1723–1731; Frans van Mieris, *Beschrijving der Bischoppelijke munten en zegelen van Utrecht*, Leiden (Luchtman, Haak, Langerak) 1726.

⁵⁰ See for instance Jean Bertholet, 'Histoire de l'église et de la Principauté de Liège. Discours préliminaire' ed. M.L.P., in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois* 3, 1858.

⁵¹ See, for instance Jo Tollebeek, Tom Verschaffel, 'De Jezuïeten en de Zuidnederlandse Kerkgeschiedschrijving (1542–1796)', *Trajecta* 1, 1992, pp. 313–331.

⁵² Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*. Pietro Maria Campi and the preservation of the particular, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1995; *ibid.*, 'Historia Sacra between Local and Universal Church', in: Sofia Boesch Gajano, Raimondo Michetti (eds.), *Europa Sacra, Raccolte agiografiche e identità politiche in Europa fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, Rome (Carocci) 2002, pp. 405–409; *ibid.*, "'Historia Magistra Sanctitatis'? The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1564–1742 CA.)', in: Massimo Firpo (ed.), *Nunc Alia Tempora, Alii Mores. Storici e storia in età posttridentina*, Firenze (Leo S. Olschki) 2005, pp. 1–23. Benz, Stefan, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*.

⁵³ Bibliographical details for these studies will be provided in each chapter.

this study is only concerned with books that were published at the time of their production. This excludes texts from distinct groups within urban society such as patrician families, who left substantial, usually handwritten *Hausbücher*, which were handed down and continued from generation to generation and which have been the focus of much scholarly research in Germany in recent years.⁵⁴ The present approach, however, guarantees that the books in question were actually written to be circulated, displayed and read (or viewed) by citizens and visitors, and can therefore be seen as a conscientious effort by the urban and provincial elite to influence memories and, by extension, the creation of an identity of their own city or province. In terms of choice, both quantity of output and the variety of different cities and provinces covered have been important. In the first chapter, a sample of three Amsterdam chorographies from the beginning, the peak period and the decline of the chorographical production in the city discusses both the establishment of a thematic canon of key events in Amsterdam's past and changes to this canon over the period of eighty years. In many ways Amsterdam's early chorographers set the agenda for a recurring repertoire of themes, not just related to the history of the city, but to the Dutch Republic as a whole, and which was adapted or challenged by the topographical-historical descriptions written elsewhere in the United Provinces. While the Dutch Revolt (and notably its early years) lay at the heart of this interpretation, earlier events and key figures in Netherlandish (and, indeed, in European) Roman and medieval history such as Charlemagne or Saint Willibrord became permanent members of the established group of heroes (or villains) of the Dutch cause. The Amsterdam sample will also bring to light changing patterns of the inclusion and exclusion of other commemorative

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Heiko Droste, *Schreiben über Lüneburg. Wandel von Funktion und Gebrauchssituation der Lüneburger Historiographie (1350–1639)*, Hanover (Hahnsche Buchhandlung) 2000; Susanne Rau, *Geschichte und Konfession: Städtische Geschichtsschreibung und Erinnerungskultur im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in Bremen, Hamburg, Breslau und Köln*, Cologne (Böhlau) 2002; Stephanie Dzeja, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Stadt. Städtische Chronistik in Frankfurt am Main vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/Main (Peter Lang) 2003. For the present study this excludes works such as the *Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum 1533*, a chronicle compiled by three generations of the Antwerp patrician family van Halmale between the second half of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries. See M. van Dyck, "Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum 1533". *Stedelijk bewustzijn van een Antwerpse patriciërsfamilie*, unpublished PhD dissertation 2002.

media such as images and maps, citations of plays and poems, the discussion of heraldry, numismatics and architecture, among others. Moreover, the study of the three books written by Johannes Isacius Pontanus, Olfert Dapper and Caspar Commelin offers insights into the changing conventions of the genre over the same period and into the way in which these authors responded to and to some extent even shaped, these changes.

As has been pointed out, chorographies were not produced in a vacuum. Works written in praise of a city were often constructed in competition with similar texts by their neighbours, who, in spite of the considerable rhetoric of unity employed in public texts printed particularly in the early years of the Eighty Years' War, were often seen as economic and political rivals. For neighbouring Haarlem, Amsterdam posed a genuine threat to its economic position within Holland and the wider Dutch Republic. Haarlem's chorographers, therefore, attempted to compete with Amsterdam's economic power through reference to the city's heroic role in the early phase of the Dutch Revolt and to its wider international role in the Middle Ages thus constructing an alternative model of commemoration which showed Haarlem in the best possible light. Here, again, the wealth of material written in praise of the city offers the opportunity for a diachronic analysis which complements the synchronic comparison with Amsterdam's chorographical scene, and which charts change over time in the form and content of the city's historical-topographical surveys. The chorographical output of Haarlem under review here also includes a range of authors from different backgrounds, namely the works of a minister, Samuel Ampzing, a rector of Haarlem's Latin School, Theodor Schrevelius, and a most unlikely candidate, the water engineer and dike builder Jan Adriaenszoon Leeghwater.

In order to move beyond a hollandocentric perspective and so achieve the desired wider survey the chorographical coverage of Nijmegen, a city outside the western centres of power in the Dutch Republic in the province of Gelderland, has been chosen to add another piece to the chorographical jigsaw in the Northern Netherlands. Nijmegen was one of the political and economic losers of the Eighty Years' War. We shall see how that city's historians, notably father and son Johannes Smetius, both ministers at Nijmegen, came to terms, in their writings about the city, with challenges of decline. This chapter also adds an important dimension to the study of the genre, which is not restricted

to this case study in Gelderland: the Smetius family was prominently involved in the publication and dissemination of Nijmegen's Roman archaeological discoveries. Smetius senior was particularly concerned with new ways in which to read and to display the material remains found in his city, which also informed his writings about Nijmegen.

The second part of the present study then offers a Southern complement to the Dutch cases. It looks first at Antwerp's chorographies. In many ways Amsterdam could be constructed as Antwerp's economic and cultural successor.⁵⁵ Yet, while the prevailing view among recent scholars is that Antwerp's loss was Amsterdam's gain, the actual decline of Antwerp was still relative. Under the Archdukes, the city undoubtedly blossomed culturally. The analysis will show how Antwerp's chorographers responded to the changing role of a city, ideologically fortified by its Habsburg rulers as a Marian bastion of the Counter-Reformation.⁵⁶ Here, again, three studies from the second decade of the seventeenth century and from the 1660s offer a cross section of the strategies employed by Antwerp's chorographers.

While Antwerp's historians had to defend the city's position in the seventeenth-century Low Countries against the shadow of decline, neighbouring Leuven was confronted with a similar dilemma, one which was tackled by arguably the most erudite intellectual of the time, in spite of his being at first sight an unlikely candidate for texts written in chorographical style: Justus Lipsius. Together with the following chapter on the Flemish town of Geraardsbergen, the study of *Lovanium* offers an insight into the changing conventions in the

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578–1630)*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2000; Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2001.

⁵⁶ In her subtle analysis of the roles that the city and the court ascribed to themselves and to each other for public ceremonies, Margit Thöfner has recently reminded us that the civic authorities were not the passive victims of Habsburg initiatives, but had room for manoeuvre in which they could draft an urban image that responded to current policies and politics: see Margit Thöfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*, Zwolle (Waanders) 2007. See also her 'Domina & Princeps proprietaria. The Ideal of Sovereignty in the Joyous Entries of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella', in: Luc Duerloo, Werner Thomas (eds.), *Albert & Isabella*, Turnhout (Brepols) 1998, pp. 55–66 and her 'Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and visual conventions in Johannes Bochius' account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp', *Oxford Art Journal* 22, 1, 1999, pp. 3–27.

writing of chorographical works in the Southern Netherlands in the course of the seventeenth century, when an increasingly confessionalized Counter-Reformation discourse replaced the humanist approach still being taken by Lipsius. In the case of Geraardsbergen a diachronic approach can again be taken by comparing the three texts covering the town's history and topography. Jean Baptiste Gramaye, Antonius Sanderus and the lesser known Joannes van Waesberghe offered three different versions of the town's past and present. Supported and informed by the Counter-Reformation programme chorographies in the South increasingly focused on religious houses, institutions and their clerical personnel thus elevating urban and regional space to sacred space sanctified through the presence of the Habsburg's special patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and defended by their pious overlords.

In its third part, the book will move from the urban to the provincial scenario of chorographical writings in the Low Countries. The focus here is on the way maps and descriptions of landscapes, their borders and their inhabitants were presented in these works. Given the origins of the genre which combined history and geography, it can be argued that chorographical productions owed much of their success to the rise of cartography and map making at the time, fields in which the Low Countries and particularly some of the prominent publishing houses in Amsterdam, excelled. The strategy of combining text and image, and of promoting this as the selling point of the books, as in the frontispieces of the works often advertised, certainly occurred here earlier than in England, where illustrations only appeared in books in considerable numbers from 1655 onwards and even then remained the exception rather than the rule.⁵⁷ Dutch map makers such as Hendrik Hondius and Johannes Willemisz Blaeu cooperated closely with chorographers such as Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn in Leiden and Antonius Sanderus in Flanders, and provided numerous 'bird's-eye' views of cityscapes and area maps, which made the books eminently marketable to a wider readership.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 361.

⁵⁸ The literature on map making in the Netherlands has traditionally been produced by geographers and cartographers. An in-depth analysis of maps and images in chorographical studies is still missing. Useful introductions are: Nils Büttner, 'Chorographie: Zwischen Kriegskunst und Propaganda', in: Dagmar Unverhau (ed.), *Geschichtsdeutung auf alten Karten. Archäologie und Geschichte*, Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 2003, pp. 467–486. Markus Völkel, 'Hugo Grotius' Grollae obsidio cum

The last chapter turns to contested border regions, that grey area of war and partition, and their description in Northern and Southern chorographies. It was here, and notably in Northern Brabant, where the war was fought in the seventeenth century. More precisely, it was here that it ground to a halt and degenerated into a series of sieges and counter-sieges, with little gain on either side and with no clear narrative of success or failure. The fortified border town of 's-Hertogenbosch, for instance, suffered two epic sieges: in 1602, when it became part of the Spanish Netherlands, and in 1629, when it was captured by Frederick Henry. Chorographers on both sides of the border found it equally difficult to incorporate the chequered history of the region into one narrative. Here, more than anywhere else, they relied on oblivion, and blanked out large parts of a story, which did not fit easily into a Northern or Southern context. Joan Blaeu produced two different versions of his atlas project, *Novum ac magnum theatrum Belgicae*, for the two Netherlandish constituencies. In the case of Breda the Dutch cartographer simply issued different accounts of the two sieges of the city which suffered a fate similar to 's-Hertogenbosch, in the two cartographies of the Low Countries.⁵⁹ In the atlas covering the Northern Netherlands (including the Generality Lands), he showed an engraving of the siege of the city by the Dutch army in 1637 and accompanied the image with a republication of Marcus Boxhorn's account of the siege, which ended in a Dutch victory.⁶⁰ But for the Southern readers, he incorporated Hugo Herman's account of the siege of Breda by Spanish forces under General Spinola which led to the surrender of the city in 1625.⁶¹ Here, the text was accompanied by an image of the Spanish siege of the city. In this way Blaeu flattered each of his potential readerships by giving them their desired version of history, while drawing a veil over painful memories of failure and loss. Chorographers applied the same techniques to their surveys.

annexis von 1629: Ein frühneuzeitlicher Historiker zwischen rhetorischer (Text) und empirischer Evidenz (Kartographie)'. See also Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft. Landschaftskunst und Kosmographie im Zeitalter Bruegels*, Rekonstruktion der Künste 1, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 2000.

⁵⁹ Joan Blaeu, *Novum ac magnum theatrum Belgicae*, 2 vols., Amsterdam (Blaeu) 1649.

⁶⁰ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Historia obsidionis Bredae et rerum anno MDCXXXVII gestarum*, Leiden (Commelin) 1640.

⁶¹ Hugo Hermannus, *Obsidio Bredana armis Philippi III. auspicii Isabellae ductu Ambrosio Spinolae perfecta*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1626.

It is hoped that this study will therefore contribute to our knowledge of the way identities were constructed through the politics of memory in the two Netherlandish states that emerged from the Eighty Years' War. At the same time, however, the study will demonstrate that these identities did not express themselves in two monolithic versions of self and Other, but that memories, and therefore identities varied considerably among the different participants of each warring party. Centre and periphery, winners and losers, each offered their interpretations of past events and their own role within them. The study thus cautions against simplistic labels of what might constitute a common identity. If this is achieved, it might help to create a better understanding not just of the management of memories in early modern societies, but also in the contested spaces of our own contemporary world.

PART I
THE NORTH

CHAPTER ONE

THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN: AMSTERDAM AND ITS HISTORIANS

Any discussion of Dutch town histories in the seventeenth century will inevitably begin with the ‘jewel in the [urban] crown’ of the United Provinces. Amsterdam was undoubtedly the most dynamic urban centre in the Netherlands (and probably in the whole of Western Europe) in this period.¹ The meteoric rise of the city to become one of the few truly cosmopolitan metropolises in early modern Europe had been by no means foreseeable. In the sixteenth century Amsterdam was not the most prominent city in the Netherlands, or even in Holland. Traditionally, Dordrecht was seen as the country’s first city, both in terms of seniority and as the most important port of the North Sea trade in the Middle Ages. Since the mid-fifteenth century Amsterdam had ranked second in the province as a major port with a deep, navigable harbour and good waterways to and from the regional centres further inland. In terms of industry, neighbouring Haarlem and Leiden were stronger and more prominent than Amsterdam. From 1575 Leiden also gained a new prominence as the United Provinces’ centre of learning, with the newly established university. Moreover, Amsterdam had remained loyal to the Habsburg authorities until the *Alteratie* of 1578 and could, therefore, not claim a leading role in the Dutch Revolt. On the contrary, the city had to struggle to shed the image of a reluctant rebel who had preferred the profits gained from supporting Spanish forces under the Duke of Alva to the sacrifices for religious freedom and independence that other Dutch towns and cities had been prepared to make. It will be shown in the following pages how town historians managed to play down Amsterdam’s unheroic role in the early phase of the uprising and to re-write the city’s past in accordance with the leadership position that it achieved in the Golden Age.

Since the Middle Ages Amsterdam had enjoyed considerable autonomy in political and legal matters. The four *burgomasters*, the governing body of the city, were not elected by the city council, but chosen by

¹ For a detailed history of Amsterdam see Marijke Carasso-Kok et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vols. 1–4, Amsterdam (SUN) 2004–2007.

their peers and predecessors. Politics were thus made by a small elite which exercised supreme power in the city. Similarly, the 36 members of the city council were elected by co-option. With the establishment and rise of trading companies such as the East and West India Companies (the former founded in 1602, the latter in 1621), the North Company (specialized in whaling) and others, close links and overlaps between civic office holders and merchants became a distinct feature of Amsterdam's political and economic life. These companies also left prominent landmarks in the city's architecture such as the East and West India Houses in the eastern areas of Amsterdam and the VOC (United East India Company) wharves and warehouses on Oostenburg Island.

The economic rise of Amsterdam was undoubtedly stimulated by its role as an international market with links to the rest of the known world. At the same time, Amsterdam profited from a strong and highly developed regional economy both in Holland and elsewhere in the Dutch Republic, which allowed a degree of specialization unsurpassed elsewhere in the western world and which was praised by contemporary observers.² The city's reliance on the highly commercialized agriculture in its hinterland allowed Amsterdam to specialize as a banking and trading centre which could import food and other essential commodities from elsewhere and concentrate on luxury production and overseas enterprises.³ This economic rise, based on a money economy, but also on shipbuilding and adjacent trades for the various overseas trading companies, led to an unprecedented influx of immigrants to the city from the later sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century. During this period Amsterdam witnessed a dramatic demographic growth, beginning in 1585 with the fall of Antwerp into the hands of Spanish troops, and followed by a wave of emigration of merchants, entrepreneurs and skilled artisans to the North.⁴ This high

² See, for instance, William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, London 1673, reprinted Oxford (Oxford University Press) 1972, p. 116.

³ Clé Lesger, 'Clusters of achievement: the economy of Amsterdam in its golden age', in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 63–80. See also his *The Rise of the Amsterdam market and information exchange: merchants, commercial expansion and change in the spatial economy of the Low Countries, c.1550–1630*, Aldershot (Ashgate) 2006.

⁴ Older studies such as J.G. van Dillen's analysis of Amsterdam's VOC membership and Wilfried Brulez' work on Antwerp's merchant exodus after 1585 have painted a picture of an already successful, rich merchant elite which transferred their money, networks and expertise to Amsterdam and thus facilitated the economic rise of the

level of immigration from the South continued throughout the 1590s and early decades of the seventeenth century and certainly in its later stages cannot be attributed simply to the religious persecutions of Calvinists (and other Protestants) and the war in the Spanish Habsburg possessions. The major motive for migration after 1590 was economic: better employment opportunities in Amsterdam (and other cities, particularly in Holland and Zeeland), higher wages and some easing of guild restrictions.⁵ From the 1620s onwards, the rapid demographic growth of the city was predominantly fed by economic migrants from the eastern provinces, Scandinavia and the German territories on the Dutch borders, who found employment as sailors on the growing number of ships of the expanding Dutch East and West India Companies, as day labourers and skilled artisans in the city's dockyards and warehouses, in the hospitality trade or as maid-servants, tavern-maids and prostitutes.⁶ After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, substantial immigration from German Lutheran and Calvinist territories began. In just over one hundred years, Amsterdam's population grew from 13,500 inhabitants in 1514 to 104,900 in 1622 and an estimated 140,000 (and rising) in 1647.⁷ Initially Amsterdam reacted to this influx with a rather unregulated building boom around the old city walls and canals. Soon, however, the city authorities had to respond to growth in population and took decisive steps towards a more regulated urban

city. These studies, however, do not correspond with more recent findings. The majority of the southern exiles were young men at the beginning of their careers rather than wealthy merchants with a broad experience in international trade. J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague (Nijhoff) 1958; Wilfried Brulez, *De Firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse Firma's in de 16e eeuw*, Brussels (Paleis der Akademiën) 1959 and *ibid.*, 'De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16e eeuw', *Bijdragen voor Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1960, 15, pp. 229–306. For a more recent assessment see Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt*.

⁵ Marjolein 't Hart, 'Freedom and restrictions: state and economy in the Dutch Republic, 1570–1670', in: Karel Davids and Leo Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*, Amsterdam (Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief) 1993, pp. 105–130.

⁶ Clé Lesger, 'Clusters of achievement: the economy of Amsterdam in its golden age'; *ibid.*, *The Rise of the Amsterdam market and information exchange*. For immigration into Amsterdam see most recently Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad, Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e eeuwse Amsterdam*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2005.

⁷ For figures see Marjolein 't Hart, 'Cities and statemaking in the Dutch Republic, 1580–1680', *Theory and Society* 18 (1989), pp. 663–687 and Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806*, Oxford (Oxford University Press) 1995, pp. 328f.

development programme. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the far-sighted *burgomaster* Willem Baerdesen⁸ took a particular interest in the city's dockland areas, the Lastage, just outside the city's St. Anthonispoort, which saw a regeneration along the geometrical lines already applied by the town planner Gilbert van Schoonbeke in Antwerp's urban developments in 1549–52.⁹ This area was particularly attractive for newcomers working in the shipbuilding trade also established there. Similarly, the area around the Haarlemmerpoort saw the establishment of a new urban quarter. Other initiatives for more regulated building programmes were based on military considerations. Extensions to the city walls and further fortifications were planned and undertaken in 1586 between today's Heerengracht and Keizersgracht in the west of the city. The building and development boom peaked in the time of the Twelve Years' Truce, was then halted by the resumption of the war with Spain and the Dutch involvement in the Thirty Years' War, but gathered new momentum after 1648. There were several milestones in Amsterdam's urban expansion and public building programmes: the completion of the new East India House in 1606 and the *Bourse*, the Exchange, in 1611 (both built and designed by Amsterdam's civic architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser); the completion of six new Calvinist churches around the *Nieuwe* and *Oude Kerk* in the 1620s and early 1630s, one of which, the *Westerkerk*, was for several decades the largest purpose-built Protestant church in Europe,¹⁰ and, most famously, the new Town Hall, designed by Holland's leading classicist architect of the mid-seventeenth century, Jacob van Campen, and officially inaugurated with much pomp and ceremony in 1655 (although more painting and decorating work was carried out during the late 1650s and 1660s). These architectural developments were complemented by an extension to the *grachten gordel*, the canal system, with the establishment of the Heerengracht (for Amsterdam's prosperous elite) in 1613, the Jordaan (for the city's less prosperous inhabitants, but also for indigenous and immigrant artisans and their

⁸ The popular and influential Baerdesen was *burgomaster* in 1578–1579, 1581–1582, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1592, 1594, 1597 and 1601.

⁹ For a recent summary of Amsterdam's city planning and development in the seventeenth century see Marjolein 't Hart, 'The glorious city: monumentalism and public space in seventeenth-century Amsterdam', in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 128–150.

¹⁰ Caspar van der Hoeven and Jos Louwe, *Amsterdam als stedelijk bouwerk*, Nijmegen (SUN) 1985, p. 69.

workshops) in the west in the 1630s, and the eastern *gordel*, which completed the extension of the city, in 1663. By the 1650s the recently developed new areas were again at bursting point. A new civic initiative in 1658 organized a further extension of the city which was completed in 1660. Earlier projects, especially after the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), had particularly focused on a refurbishment of fortifications, but decisive steps were eventually taken in the light of continuing demographic growth. Extensions now focused on the eastern side of the city with the development of Kattenburg, Wittenburg and Oostenburg, designed specifically to house the workers of the ever-expanding shipbuilding industry. (Kattenburg was the domain of the Admiralty, while Oostenburg was in the hands of the VOC.)

The unprecedented influx of immigrants and the new building projects in the city led to distinct changes in the social appropriation of urban space in Amsterdam. Before the 1600s the city was more or less indistinguishable from most other early modern western European urban centres, with a distinct central square around which key institutions—the *Nieuwe Kerk*, the *Waag*, the *Stadhuis* and the *Bourse*—were located, and whose main streets housed the most prominent members of the civic community. In Amsterdam, this area had the additional advantage of its closeness to the harbour, which gave merchants the opportunity to keep in close contact with the international mercantile world. A stroll along the *Damrak* would satisfy their curiosity as to the latest ships and their cargoes coming and going. The 1660s and early 1670s witnessed a building boom in the upper segments of the real estate market which took advantage of the new extensions to the city. Many of the spacious and richly decorated ‘merchant palaces’ on Amsterdam’s Heerengracht, Rapenburgergracht and other canals were built in these times of prosperity. In the second part of the seventeenth century the city’s elite—including some prosperous Jewish merchants¹¹—made a clear move towards the hitherto open spaces further away from the centre, giving themselves the opportunity to show off their wealth with ambitious and expensive architectural projects.

Amongst the immigrant population of Amsterdam, Portuguese Jews played a prominent part in the mercantile sector. Their number grew from approximately 300 Sephardims in 1610 to 900 in 1630, 1,400

¹¹ Uniquely in early modern Europe, Jews in Amsterdam had the right to own real estate.

in 1650 and 2,230 in 1675, by then also including Eastern European Ashkenazim and German Jews.¹² While the Sephardim settled in the Vlooyenburg area between the Town Hall and the Lastage, the poorer Ashkenazim were housed in Uilenburg, on the outer margins of the Vlooyenburg quarter. As members of an international mercantile elite who brought their connections with Portugal, Spain and their overseas colonies to the city, the prosperous Jews enjoyed considerable recognition and tolerance in the city. A first Sephardim Synagogue, which used Portuguese and Castilian as the languages of worship, was established in 1612. After protests by the Calvinist church consistory, its services were officially forbidden, but tolerated nevertheless. The Portuguese Synagogue built by city architect Elias Boumans between 1671 and 1675 was the largest in the world at the time, and became a tourist attraction. In 1642, the Ashkenazim opened their own Synagogue, which held services in High German, in houses in the Vlooyenburg area. A much larger Ashkenazim house of worship, the Great Synagogue, was subsequently opened in 1672.

Amsterdam was a late-comer to the Dutch Revolt. The city stood firm behind its Spanish overlords until 1578 and only then joined the Orangist forces after what can be described as a coup by the city's militias.¹³ In a non-violent act, the Catholic establishment and its clerics were expelled from the city, whose new regents declared Calvinism the main confession in Amsterdam.¹⁴ Two years later, in 1580, Catholic masses were official declared unlawful. However, Amsterdam's confessional policy was based on toleration, which was extended not just to Catholics, but to other Christian sects and denominations, and also to Jews. All but the Catholics were allowed public spaces for worship. Careers in the city, however, were reserved for members, or at least *liefhebbers* (sympathisers without official links), of the Calvinist church.

By the end of the seventeenth century Amsterdam was a city of striking modernity. From 1669 onwards an elaborate system of 1,800 public street lights, designed by Amsterdam's artist-inventor Jan van

¹² Willem Frijhoff, Marijke Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, Assen (Van Gorcum, Palgrave Macmillan), 2004, p. 121.

¹³ Henk van Nierop, "Confessional Cleansing". Why Amsterdam did not join the Revolt (1572–1578)', in: Wim Kloosters, Wayne te Brake (eds.), *Power and the Cities in the Netherlandic World*, Leiden (Brill) 2006, pp. 85–102.

¹⁴ For further details see Joke Spaans, 'Stad van veele geloven 1578–1795', in: Willem Frijhoff, Maarten Prak (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Centrum van de Wereld 1578–1650*, vol. 2:1, Amsterdam (SUN) 2004, pp. 385–467.

der Heyden (1637–1712), illuminated the newly-built canals, Palladian houses and public spaces. The 2,500 lanterns could be lit within 15 minutes. From the 1670s onwards, an improved drainage system advanced by *burgomaster* Hudde helped to reduce the stench of the canals during the summer. It was these dramatic changes in Amsterdam's cityscape—as much as the town's meteoric rise to become Europe's leading *entrepôt* for world trade and one of its most important banking centres—that stimulated municipal authorities and the powerful East India Company to promote the composition and publication of chorographical works in praise of their city.

JOHANNES ISACIUS PONTANUS

It is not surprising, therefore, that a chorography of Amsterdam became the first printed work dedicated to the topography and history of a city in the Dutch Republic.¹⁵ In 1611 the Antwerp refugee printer Jodocus Hondius published Johannes Isacius Pontanus' *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium Historia* in Amsterdam. This work and its Dutch translation, published in 1614, again by Hondius, under the title *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coop-stadt Amsterdam*, set the precedent for a series histories of towns and cities in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. As will be shown, Pontanus' study was frequently cited, criticized and amended by his successors both in Amsterdam and elsewhere in the United Provinces. Between 1611 and 1693 in the metropolis alone, seven chorographical studies were published in several languages.¹⁶ It is not surprising that the majority of these works were produced in the 1660s after the

¹⁵ Matthaeus Herbenus' *Libellus in Traiecto instaurato*, a topographical-historical description of the author's hometown, Maastricht, of 1485, which, as the title suggests, closely followed Flavio Biondo's *Romae Instauratae* (1471), has never been published. Likewise, *De stadt Leiden dienst-bouc*, written by Leiden's Secretary Jan van Hout in 1602 remained incomplete.

¹⁶ After Pontanus the following authors produced topographical-historical studies of Amsterdam: Melchior Fokkens, *Beschryvinge der wijdt-vermaerde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam*, enz. Amsterdam (de Wes) 1662; Philip von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1663/64, this study appeared simultaneously in Dutch and German; Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1663; Marcus Willemsz. Doornik (ed.), *Beschrijvingh der Stadt Amsterdam, door verscheyde liefhebbers tezamen gestelt*, Amsterdam (Doornik) 1664; Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt de huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant*, enz., Amsterdam (Doornik) 1665; Casparus Commelin,

completion of Amsterdam's *grachten gordel* and the monumental Town Hall. The city authorities and members of the merchant elite promoted and supported these new early modern 'guide books' for both visitors and residents in which tribute was paid to the latest expansions and architectural extravaganzas in the city, and its past achievements were praised. Key themes covered in these volumes, which remained prominent throughout the century were, unsurprisingly, the origins of Amsterdam, its role within medieval Holland, the Dutch Revolt and the civic institutions and eminent men of the city.

Johannes Isacius Pontanus was a typical intellectual product of his time and a prominent member of the academic elite of the Northern Netherlands.¹⁷ The son of a Haarlem merchant, he was born at sea on a ship en route to Denmark in 1571. He was educated at the Grammar School in Amsterdam, then studied medicine in Franeker, and later in Leiden, where he attracted the attention of Justus Lipsius, who described him as "en intelligent jongmens".¹⁸ Before he completed his academic education with a dissertation in Philosophy at Leiden in 1593, Pontanus travelled extensively in Italy, Germany and Denmark, where he returned after the completion of his PhD to spend two years as assistant to the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe. On his return to Holland he had contact with Joseph Scaliger, before another round of travels accompanying young Danish aristocrats on their *Grand Tour* led him again to Germany and to France. In 1595–96 he went to England, where he devoted himself particularly to philological and historical studies. Here, he also made the acquaintance of William Camden, who became a life-long friend, and whose works influenced Pontanus' approach to his own historical studies.¹⁹ He was awarded another doctorate—in Medicine—in Basle, and finally settled as Professor in

Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, desselfs eerste oorspronk uyt den huysse der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant, Amsterdam (Commelin) 1693.

¹⁷ E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500–1800*, pp. 333–336. See also H.H. Zwager, Introduction to the facsimile edition of Pontanus' *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coopstadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland) 1968.

¹⁸ Quoted in the introduction to the facsimile edition of Pontanus' *Historische Beschrijvinghe*, p. 3.

¹⁹ Camden wrote in Pontanus' album amicorum. Testimony of their intellectual exchange is a letter from Pontanus to Camden dated 12 July 1607, where he mentioned earlier correspondence. Here, he discussed various historical matters and send a copy of his work *Iter Gallia Narbonensis* (1606). See William Camden, *V. CL. Guilielmi Camdeni et illustrium vivorum ad G. Camdenum epistolae*, London 1611, pp. 90–91.

Harderwijk in Gelderland in 1606, where he stayed until his death in 1639. His chair was officially in Philosophy and Medicine, but he probably also taught classical languages. Once established at the university, he married Anneke van Heede, the daughter of an Antwerp merchant. He corresponded with the leading intellectuals of his time, amongst them Constantin Huygens and Hugo Grotius, who combined a keen interest in the world of learning with an equally keen interest and involvement in Dutch and international politics, which Pontanus shared and which influenced his work. He kept in close contact with other historians, who would continue his study and practice of chorography: amongst his closest friends were the independent scholar Petrus Scriverius and his own nephew Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, who became an eminent professor in Leiden and contributed substantially to the publication of chorographical works.²⁰ In 1618 Pontanus was commissioned by the Danish king Christian IV to write a history of Denmark, which he completed ten years later.²¹ A further commission was received from the estates of Gelderland in 1621 for the completion of the official history of the province, begun by Gelderland's historians Paullus Merula and Joannes Luntius, who died in 1607 and 1611 respectively.²² These studies, together with his book on Amsterdam, remain the most prominent works of Pontanus. The present chapter will concentrate on the latter, while the chorography of Gelderland will be discussed in Chapter VII. Pontanus was an ardent advocate of the promotion of Dutch as the language of the learned. The following study will thus focus on the Dutch version of his book, translated not by Pontanus himself, but by Petrus Montanus, the brother-in-law of Pontanus' publisher, Jodocus Hondius jr.

²⁰ On Scriverius see, most recently, Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, On Boxhorn see Herman Kampinga, *De Opvattingen over onze oudere vaderlandsche Geschiedenis bij de Historici der XVI en XVII Eeuw*, rev. ed. E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, Utrecht (HES Publishers) 1980 and E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland*.

²¹ Pontanus' *Rerum Danicarum historia, libri X unoque tomo ad domum usque Oldenburgicam deducta. Accedit chorographica regni Daniae tractusque eius universi borealis ubique descriptio* was eventually published in Harderwijk by Nicolas van Wieringen in 1631. On Pontanus in Denmark see Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*.

²² His *Historiae Gelricae libri XIV. Deducta omnia ad ea usque tempora nostra, quibus firmata sub Ordinibus respublica. Praecidit, qui est liber primus, ducatus Gelriae et comitatus Zutphaniae chorographica descriptio, Cum chartis geographicis* eventually appeared in Harderwijk in 1639.

His *Historische Beschrijvinghe* was dedicated to “myn heeren der Schout, Burger ende Rade der seer wijtberoemde Coop-Stadt Amsterdam”.²³ The volume of 366 pages was divided into three parts.²⁴ The first part consists of a straight narrative of the origins and medieval period of the city—which was embedded in the history of the surrounding territory, Holland—focussing on the local nobility, the Lords of Amstel. The second part provides a topographical description of Amsterdam itself in the form of two imaginary ‘guided tours’ around the architectural landmarks of the city. It also includes an account of overseas expeditions to Nova Zembla (in Russia) and the Far East undertaken by the Dutch East India Company. This part of Pontanus’ book is richly illustrated with engravings depicting both the most prominent places and buildings in the city and dramatic scenes of overseas adventures. The third part provides a detailed list of the various city administrators and eminent men of Amsterdam of the last 200 years.²⁵

Pontanus introduced his study with a discussion of earlier and current historiography of Holland. In typical humanist fashion he criticized his predecessors’ reliance on fables and myths, but commented more positively on recent studies by scholars such as Janus Dousa, Joseph Scaliger and Emmanuel van Meteren.²⁶ As a good humanist with an understanding of what was required for a chorographical survey, he praised Strabo and Pliny (the Elder) and, in particular, Tacitus and his *Germania*, and Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*, which he used as a basis for his discussion of Holland’s first inhabitants. This introduction

²³ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, Preface.

²⁴ I have used the edition preserved at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel for this study.

²⁵ The Latin edition has an additional appendix with an anonymous description of Amsterdam from the last quarter of the fifteenth century and Cornelis van Haemroede’s *Bataviae urbiumque omnium inter Helium et Flevum brevis descriptio* from 1575. Both texts featured prominently in Pontanus’ introduction where he referred to them as his sources. Haemroede’s work has completely disappeared in the Dutch version of Pontanus’ description, while the anonymous chronicle was still included in fragments.

²⁶ Examples of contemporary master narratives of the Dutch Revolt are Emmanuel van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie van onze tijden* (first edition in Dutch Delft, J.C. Vennecool 1599, revised edition 1612), Dousa’s work is more closely related to the history of Holland. See his edition of Melis Stoke’s *Hollandtsche Riim-kroniik, inhoudende de gheschiedenissen der graven van Hollandt to het jaer MCCCCV*, Amsterdam (Barendt Adriaensz) 1591 (the original was probably completed in 1308).

set out the programme that Pontanus presented for his study and which should become a model for the following chorographical surveys of Amsterdam, and other cities in Holland and the other Dutch provinces. His work, therefore, deserves closer examination in terms of his reflections on an approach which both offered the first theoretical framework for a chorographical study of cities in the Netherlands and responded to changes and continuities of the genre in its specific Dutch form. It also set the agenda for a canon of topics which his successors deemed essential for a chorographical survey of a city, province or region, and which reappeared in chorographical studies written throughout the seventeenth century.

It will be demonstrated that the author used both the historical and the topographical description of the city to unfold a programme of what he considered necessary to construct an identity not just of an emerging mercantile metropolis, but of the young Dutch Republic as a whole. This programme was supported by a careful and selective reading of the city's pasts, where key episodes were highlighted, while other, undesirable, periods were either very much played down, or omitted. Key protagonists of Amsterdam's story were constructed as role models of the ideal Amsterdamer and Dutchman (women do not feature in this story). These role models, however, were not only taken from the city; the reader was introduced to a gallery of eminent men, not all of whom had direct links with Amsterdam, but were well-known figures in the wider Dutch history. The guided tour was used to highlight public spaces and their role in the development of civic pride and self-confidence. Narrative and description were supported by an iconographic programme which underlined Pontanus' message.

Following Pontanus' interpretation of his city's past and present, comparisons will be made with later chorographies of Amsterdam and the interpretation of its history and topography.

IMAGES AND ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME

It can be argued that the title of Pontanus' book already summarized the programme for his study. It combined both *Historia* and *Descriptio*, the two elements of the writing of history in its narrative and its antiquarian expression, and thus prepared the reader for the hybrid literary form that was a marker of chorographical texts in the seventeenth century. Besides the title, the most obvious 'selling point' of Pontanus'

work was the presentation and the iconographic programme chosen and highlighted in the frontispiece. The message conveyed in the title, which defined Amsterdam as a *coop-stadt*, a merchant city, is echoed in the title page of Pontanus' Dutch edition. It is unmistakably focused on the economy of Amsterdam. The engraving frequently reappears, with few alterations, in later works in praise of the city, demonstrating both the lasting legacy of this image of Amsterdam and also of the prominence of Pontanus' book. It offers a snapshot of contemporary Amsterdam and its position in the world, not a reference to a heroic past. Any other markers of identity, such as confessional statements, are absent from what is a clearly secular image.

Elements of this programme were already present in the Latin edition of the book, which included the depiction of an American Indian and two female figures holding terrestrial and celestial globes. In this version, Amsterdam's and, by extension, Dutch, vigilance and martial potential were highlighted by two figures in classical war dress while two lions held Amsterdam's coat of arms and the imperial crown.²⁷

In Olfert Dapper's, Tobias van Domselaer's and Caspar Commelin's books on Amsterdam the iconography of the frontispiece was only very slightly changed: the river god in Pontanus' version is accompanied by Neptune, the Roman god of the Sea, emphasizing Amsterdam's overseas trade alongside its inland networks.²⁸ The Neptune in Commelin's frontispiece, engraved by Gilliam van Gouwen, is also adorned with a so-called 'sea crown', an ornament that rose to prominence as a symbol of Dutch overseas achievements and naval supremacy at war in the second part of the seventeenth century and which was associated with the most important admirals of the Dutch navy.²⁹ This more or less direct reference to the Dutch presence at sea and its most prominent agents was no coincidence, as will be shown in the discussion of Commelin's work.

²⁷ Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Rerum at Urbis Amstelodamensium Historia*, Amsterdam (Hondius) 1611, frontispiece. Not all Dutch editions were adorned with the above frontispiece. There are versions without any images, which just used the text and the logo of Hondius' publishing house.

²⁸ In van Domselaer's book Mercury and Juno show their benevolence to the city. In Commelin's frontispiece, Fame and Freedom accompany the *Amsterdaemse Maeghd*.

²⁹ On the iconography of sea crowns and their use see Cynthia Lawrence, 'Hendrick de Keyser's Heemskerck Monument: The Origins and Iconography of Dutch Naval Heroes', *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21,4, 1992, pp. 265–295.

Otherwise, images are used rather eclectically in Pontanus' book. It has been suggested that the academic Pontanus was not interested in the selection of the engravings which accompanied his text.³⁰ Even the title page indicated that the *kopere figuren* presented were ornamental rather than an essential part of the book. Pontanus and his publishers included reproductions of the maps of Holland and the city maps frequently printed in Amsterdam from the sixteenth century onwards. In the seventeenth century, in particular, these maps became the most vivid testament to the city's geographical expansion.³¹ Pontanus' map of Amsterdam, which was not included in all Dutch editions of the book, was made after Cornelis Anthoniszoon's famous map of 1544 and so did not include the extensions to the city from 1585 which Pontanus described. To bridge this gap, a more up-to-date prospect of Amsterdam as seen from the river IJ was attached to the top of the double-paged 'bird's-eye' map (fol. 13). The majority of the forty-seven engravings which were included in his book have, however, nothing to do with the city at all, but relate to the adventures of the Dutch East India Company in Nova Zembla and in Asia, which Pontanus described in great detail. Here, the publishers clearly counted on contemporary public interest in travel literature, which was booming at the time of the publication of the *Beschrijvinge*.³² Where city scenes are presented, they seem to have been chosen rather randomly, and

³⁰ Eddy Verbaan, 'Jan Janszoon Orlers schetst Leiden. Illustraties in de vroege stadsbeschrijvingen', in: Karel Bostoen, Emer Kolfin, Paul J. Smith (eds.), "'Tweelingen eener dragt'. Word en beeld in de Nederlanden (1500–1750)', Special Issue, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 17, 2001, pp. 133–168, here p. 136. See also E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'The Image of Amsterdam in Seventeenth-Century Descriptions', in: Peter van Kessel, Elisja Schulte (eds.), *Rome-Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 1997, pp. 13–23.

³¹ Richard Helgerson, 'Genremalerei, Landkarten und Nationale Unsicherheiten im Holland des 17. Jahrhunderts', in: Uli Bielefeld, Gisela Engel (eds.), *Bilder der Nation: Kulturelle und politische Konstruktionen des Nationalen am Beginn der europäischen Moderne*, Hamburg (Hamburger Edition) 1998, pp. 123–153.

³² For travel journals and their publication see, most recently, Michiel van Groesen, *The Representation of the Overseas World in the de Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)*, Leiden (Brill) 2008. See also Benjamin Schmitt, *Innocence Abroad. The Dutch Imagination and the New World 1570–1670*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2001, chapter 3. The combination of Dutch History and the account of overseas adventures, however, was not as unusual as it seems. In his posthumously published *Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis*, Hugo Grotius combined the story of the Dutch Revolt with an account of Dutch overseas travels. On the link between travel literature and chorographies see also Eddy Verbaan, 'Aan de oevers van de Theems en Nieuwe Rijn: Nostalgie en burgerplicht in beschrijvingen van Londen (1598) en Leiden (1614)', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 24, 2008, pp. 89–107.

probably reflect what Hondius had in stock at the time. There is, for instance, no depiction of the East India House, which would have been an obvious addition to the text covering such a prestigious building and to the adventure stories presented at a later stage. Neither are there any depictions of the Town Hall or any of the city's churches. Some charitable institutions, such as the *Oude Mannen Huis* and the House of Correction were depicted, others were not. Some of the images had Latin captions; others were presented with no captions—a fact that indicates their nature as material recycled from other publications.³³ The Latin version was even more sparse in its depiction of the town itself, but included the maps and images of Dutch adventures around the world which, as in its Dutch version, cover an essential part of the text and were clearly seen as its selling point.

Despite the slightly mixed character of the book, in which accounts of Dutch adventures overseas are juxtaposed somewhat inelegantly with the description of the city and its history, Pontanus offered a clear programme of his work, including references to his methods of historical writing and his vision of what was important in Amsterdam's past. Pontanus' approach to both the history and the topography of Amsterdam was eclectic. The chorographical tradition did not require the composition of a comprehensive, all-encompassing study of the city, but a focus on highlights and key themes in a city's past and her topographical layout. In this respect Pontanus followed the requirements of what was relevant for the writing of history discussed in the *artes historicae* literature of his time. Generally, academics interested in the role and use of the past followed a humanist programme devoted to rhetoric and philology, and saw the writing of history as a

³³ The image of the city's *Waag*, for instance, is used in the Latin and in the Dutch version. The Latin captions (and a Dutch translation) were kept for the Dutch version. See Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium Historia*, p. 111 and the Dutch version, p. 143. An interior of the House of Correction is also used in both versions. (Latin version, p. 98, Dutch version, p. 133). There are no captions. The *Oude Mannen* House is pictured in both versions with a Latin caption (in the Dutch version this is complemented with a Dutch translation: see Latin version, p. 88, Dutch version p. 122). It should also be mentioned here that these, and other images used in chorographies, normally depicted idealized scenes rather than accurate reproductions of street life in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. The men and women in these engravings behave in an orderly manner; they are usually dressed according to the latest fashion; there are no signs of rubbish in the streets; there are hardly any beggars, and no prostitutes or vagrants. Anything that could disrupt the image of orderly common wealth that is conveyed, is carefully excised. For further details see E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'The Image of Amsterdam in Seventeenth-Century Descriptions'.

collection of exemplary stories to enlighten the readers.³⁴ This aim is also mentioned in Pontanus' introduction. Here he defined the role of his history as a presentation of "yet schoons ende wtnemens tot breeder verstandt der saken en omstandicheden"—something beautiful and outstanding told for a wider understanding of things and circumstances.³⁵ The acknowledgement of the Ciceronian argument of history as a *lux veritatis et magistra vitae* which shines through this approach, however, is just one aspect of Pontanus' programme where he paid tribute to the essence of the rhetorical history expected from a historian of his time. He also set out to distinguish his survey from the traditional annalistic approach to urban histories prevalent in the Middle Ages. In contrast to this older form, his *Historische Beschrijvinge* was, he asserted, not simply an account of events in a chronological sequence. Given that Pontanus' book was the first printed chorography of a city in the Netherlands, the comparison between his work and established forms of writing about a city's past was an important statement, and needed to be made in the introductory pages of the text. Pontanus highlighted his analysis of the causes and effects of events and his discussion of different interpretations of the past—novel alternatives to the traditional annalistic approach to urban history.³⁶ Pontanus thus referred to a school of thought surrounding the uses of the past, whose members were historians such as David Chytraeus and other Lutheran academics in the Holy Roman Empire working in the tradition of Philip Melanchthon.³⁷

³⁴ For a brief overview on the debates about the *artes historicae* in the sixteenth and seventeenth century see Anthony Grafton, 'The Identities of History in Early Modern Europe: Prelude to a Study of the Artes Historiae', in: Gianna Pomata, Nancy G. Siraisi (eds.), *Historia. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/Mass. (MIT Press) 2005, pp. 41–74.

³⁵ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, Dedication, n.p.

³⁶ On medieval town chronicles see, for instance, Peter Fleming, 'Making History: Culture, Politics and *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar*', in: Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Leiden (Brill) 2004, pp. 289–316, Robert Stein, 'Selbstverständnis oder Identität? Städtische Geschichtsschreibung als Quelle für die Identitätsforschung', in: Hanno Brand et al. (eds.), *Memoria, communitas, civitas. Mémoire et conscience urbaines en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Beihefte de Francia 55), Ostfildern (Thorbecke) 2003, pp. 181–202.

³⁷ David Chytraeus, *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda*, Rostock 1563, p. 12. "Qua [scil. historia] simul causas earum & occasiones, ac progressus & euentus considerat, & cum negocijs praesentibus, similia ex omnio antiquitate comparat, & futuros inde casus prudenter prospicit".

What then follows is a discussion of the types of history covered in his book, in the light of the then conventional distinction between *historia sacra* and *historia politica*, which was commonly accepted in the humanist academic world, and which Pontanus might have adapted from his Rostock teacher David Chytraeus, whose *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda*, a didactic text for the study of history, became eminently important for Pontanus' approach to his subject. For his *Historische Beschrijvinge*, he aimed to incorporate both branches of historical investigation.

In his History of Denmark, published twenty years after his Latin chorography of Amsterdam, Pontanus laid out his programme for the writing of chorography in even greater detail. In the introduction to his *Chronographica Regni Daniae*, a tract on the method and approach in his writing which was incorporated into the *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, Pontanus emphasized how important it was to know about the origins of peoples, place names and the landscape for chorographical studies.³⁸ He explicitly referred to Chytraeus' *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda* and his declaration of geographical knowledge as the 'eye of history', a much-used phrase referring to Ptolemy's definition of chorography.³⁹ Reiner Reineccius' *Methodus legendi cognoscendique historiam tam sacram quam profanam* and Lucian's *De Scribenda Historia* were also cited as authorities in the definition of a methodological and theoretical framework for chorographical studies.⁴⁰ This approach had already been applied to his study of Amsterdam, but Pontanus might have found it necessary to further outline his methodology and theory for the later work, which, it was argued by his critics, was a more monumental, and certainly for his Danish employers, a more important topic than the history of a city and would therefore have needed a more stylistically 'polished' approach and coverage of the topics usually expected for the writing of histories (rather than

³⁸ Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Chronographica Regni Daniae Tractusque euis universi borealis... descriptio in: Rerum Danicarum Historia Libris X*.

³⁹ David Chytraeus, *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda*, Rostock 1563, B8v. Pontanus had studied for a brief while with Chytraeus in Rostock during his European travels. On the use of the eye metaphor see Nils Büttner, 'Chorographie: Zwischen Kriegskunst und Propaganda'.

⁴⁰ Reiner Reineccius, *Methodus legendi cognoscendique historiam tam sacram quam profanam*, Helmstedt (Lucius) 1583, Lucianus, *De Scribenda Historia*, Florence 1594, chapter 19. Both texts were frequently cited in the discussions on how to write history.

chorographies). Pontanus' programme, both for the chorographies of Denmark and of Amsterdam, was accompanied and supported by the extensive use of primary sources cited and discussed throughout the text. This method was a marked departure from the classical ideal of stylistic unity, which, although otherwise rather diverse in approach and theory, still formed the backbone of the *artes historicae* literature of the time.⁴¹ As a consequence of a more critical approach, the author, in this case Pontanus, acquired a different function in the composition of his text. Firstly, he was present as an individual, and not part of a chain of often anonymous authors, as in medieval chronicles. Secondly, he was transformed from the humanist narrator aiming to convince, to move and to persuade, to a critical and detached interpreter. Pontanus was actively present in his books as a commentator who discussed and evaluated different approaches to his topic. He took sides, and praised or dismissed certain interpretations.⁴² Grammatically, this led to a multiplicity of styles, due to the inclusion of original passages from documents and older sources, and to the continuous changes of tense in the text. The past tense used for the narrative was frequently interrupted by reasoning passages in the present tense reflecting the author's intellectual journey through his work.⁴³ Typographically, these discontinuities were reflected in the different typefaces used to highlight quotations and references to other authors. Latin texts were

⁴¹ Anthony Grafton, 'The Identities of History in Early Modern Europe: Prelude to a Study of the *Artes Historiae*', pp. 41–74.

⁴² E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier has pointed out that chorographical texts were highly individualistic products where authors not only commented on the events and structures that they described, but also used their books to promote their own family interests. See E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier, 'De eerste Hollandse Stadsbeschrijvingen uit de Zeventiende eeuw'.

⁴³ Although this approach to the writing of the history of a country had been used by earlier authors such as George Buchanan in his *Rerum Scoticarum historica* (1582) and Johannes Mariana's *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri XX* (1592), Pontanus' work was criticized by fellow historians for its disregard for what was seen as good style. It is interesting to note that the Danish king Christian IV, who commissioned Pontanus' book, employed another learned Dutchman, Johannes Meursius, to carry out a similar task for an earlier period of Danish history. Meursius was one of the fiercest critics of Pontanus (not least, perhaps, because of professional rivalry and the competition for the position of court historian in Copenhagen). His study used the traditional form of narrative, following classical requirements for the writing of history. Pontanus frequently had to defend his choice of style and approach in later years. See, for instance, Pontanus, *Apologia per historia Amstelodamensi adversus Franciscum Sweertium ad Arnoldum Buchelium*, Amsterdam 1628, 1634. For these two versions of Danish historiography see: Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*.

frequently interrupted by Dutch phrases denoting offices, titles and place names. Footnotes, however, the source of much controversy in academic circles of the time, and which became the tool of the antiquarian but were rejected as an interruption and distraction by classically trained historians, had not yet found their place in Pontanus' text.⁴⁴

Classical authorities such as Strabo, Pliny (the Elder) and Tacitus were still the unquestioned luminaries of the sources used by Pontanus. Through the choice of the two ancient geographers from the pool of ancient authorities 'citable' by humanist authors, Pontanus also contextualized his book within the classical chorographical tradition. In his address to the reader, he referred explicitly to Marcus Terrentius Varro's history of Rome, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, a popular work in the Renaissance, which, although only available as excerpts in Augustine's *City of God*, provided a model for antiquarian studies of the time.⁴⁵ Varro's text, Pontanus argued, had created a common bond between the Romans within and outside the capital. It reminded them of who they were and where they came from.⁴⁶ This was also the aim of his own study. The history of the city was, thus, not just a collection of exemplary stories with a general moral and educational message, as the first part of his introduction might suggest, but a patriotic tool to bind Amsterdam's men and women together in the knowledge of their common past, present and, it was hoped, future.

In good humanist fashion Pontanus also found occasions for reference to ancient Rome and a comparison of that city with Amsterdam: the Roman origin myth of Romulus and Remus is echoed in Amsterdam's own origin myth. While the references to Rome dominated the introduction, they were replaced by analogies with the City Republic of Venice which are frequently made in the text itself. These include comparisons between the topographies of the cities and references to Venice's rejection of further monastic houses in 1437, which seems to parallel Amsterdam's rejection of similar requests, as will be discussed at a later stage of this analysis.⁴⁷ These parallels, firstly with Republican Rome, and secondly with the most powerful City Republic in

⁴⁴ Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote. A curious history*, Cambridge/Mass. (Harvard University Press) 1997. On the use of footnotes see also Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 6, 13, 17, 312–313.

⁴⁵ Marcus Terrentius Varro, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum Libri XLI*.

⁴⁶ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, Dedication, n.p.

⁴⁷ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 9, p. 39.

Renaissance Italy, were certainly very appealing to Amsterdam's city fathers. In a subtle way they supported the absence of references to the States General or the States of Holland in Pontanus' description of the contemporary city. The topographical part of the book was also updated to reflect the current status of the city. It is here where, it has been argued, chorographies departed from the antiquarian tradition.⁴⁸ While the Latin authors cited in the introduction set the agenda for the topographical description of Amsterdam and the discussion of its first inhabitants, Pontanus also referred to the works which he had used to write the historical part of his study. Here, he mentioned the two earlier texts on Amsterdam reproduced in the Latin version of the book but omitted from the Dutch translation. Cornelis van Haemrode, in his *Bataviae urbiumque omnium inter Helium et Flevum brevis descriptio* of 1575, and the anonymous author of a description of Amsterdam from the last quarter of the fifteenth century had, however, only covered the earlier history of the city and its surroundings, while Pontanus found it necessary to update the story to its glorious present. This he set out to do, the reader was told, in his own book. In the chronological part, which Pontanus intended to extend to his own time, his work again transgressed the boundaries of the antiquarian approach, which was traditionally focused on the ancient and medieval past of their topic. Pontanus' introduction to the chronology of Amsterdam further highlights the author's eminently present-centred agenda, departing clearly in this respect from the antiquarian tradition. Given the relatively inferior role that Amsterdam played in the Low Countries prior to the sixteenth century and then, in contrast, its accelerated growth in the seventeenth century, this emphasis on the more recent past certainly reflected Amsterdam's image of itself, and must have been welcomed by the city magistrates.

In terms of chronology, Pontanus divided the city's past into three main eras, outlined in his introduction. The first period covered the humble beginnings of the city under the Lords of Amstel. A key event in Amsterdam's history was, according to his interpretation, the defeat of the Lords of Amstel by Count Floris V of Holland, who then became overlord of the city and granted it substantial toll exemptions and

⁴⁸ Karen Skovgaard-Petersen suggests the term 'cultural history' for the thematic treatments of countries in their contemporary, rather than their ancient or medieval status. Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*, p. 151.

trade privileges. The ensuing period, however, was not seen as particularly successful for the city, which, according to Pontanus, did not use its potential to the full. Its fortunes only rose under the Burgundian rule some two hundred years later (in 1433). This period, he argued, witnessed the demographic and economic growth of Amsterdam based on its national and international trade links. The last great cesura came with the *Alteratie* and Amsterdam's new Calvinist, anti-Spanish policy, some thirty-two years before Pontanus' publication. The *Alteratie* inaugurated far-reaching developments in the city's common weal which, Pontanus pointed out, would normally have taken about one hundred years to materialize.⁴⁹ His version of the history of Amsterdam was thus a success story which had accelerated in the previous three decennia, but which was based on earlier achievements. Elements of this success were its trade links (China and the Moluccas are mentioned in particular), but also the establishment of good government and sound institutions. Although the *Alteratie* was mentioned, the acceptance of Calvinism as the dominant confession was not specifically highlighted in this introduction. The frame of memory chosen here corresponded with the iconography of the frontispiece: it was firmly secular, and its theme was the improvement of the city's government and its wealth through trade. This vision of history was repeated again in Pontanus' introduction to the topographical part of his study in Book II of his work. Here, he used the Ovidian and Virgilian vision of the four metallurgic ages culminating in the golden age of the world, and which Pontanus reduced to simply the iron, silver and golden ages, as a framework for the city's past.⁵⁰ These three ages were likened to the three periods of the city's reign under the Counts of Holland, the Dukes of Burgundy and the current, republican time (again he carefully avoided the role of the States General or the States of Holland). The reason for the success of Amsterdam was again trade and overseas commercial expansion to all the known continents.

It has been suggested that Pontanus was also one of the first chorographers who extended the remit of what a good chorography should cover and included what might be labelled the 'intellectual history' of a

⁴⁹ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, Vorreden, pp. 2v., 3.

⁵⁰ On the myth of the golden age see Pieter G. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age*, Leiden (Brill) 1994, pp. 207ff.

place.⁵¹ Reineccius had advocated the coverage of the history of learning as one of the three aspects necessary to understand the history of a place—the other two being political and ecclesiastical history.⁵² Chytraeus had already adapted this concept of a *translatio studii* for his *Saxonia*.⁵³ Here, the Roman critique of uncivilized barbarism north of the Alps was challenged by a vision of German education and thirst for knowledge which became an important requisite of Protestant arguments for the break with the corrupted Catholic Church.⁵⁴ As a strategy, the rehabilitation of the Germanic Barbarians as more civilized than their Roman observers had noted, however, predated the confessional divide, and had long been part of the programme of Northern humanists as a response to what was seen as Roman arrogance.⁵⁵ This concept was adapted by Pontanus in his *Beschrijvinge*. As an academic, he certainly had no problem in presenting the intellectual achievements of the people he described in his book. Moreover, the reference to the world of learning provided a new, much needed intellectual background for the new Dutch nation. As will be demonstrated, a coverage of Amsterdam's centres of learning and their personnel became an essential part of later chorographies, although the interpretation of what constituted the learned world underwent subtle changes in the course of the seventeenth century.

BATAVIANS

In typical chorographical tradition, Pontanus began his story with an etymological interpretation of the city's name and origin. Since Cornelius Aurelius' *Divisiechroniek* (1517), which was of enormous influence

⁵¹ Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*, pp. 151–152.

⁵² Reiner Reineccius, *Methodus legendi cognoscendique historiam tam sacram quam profanam*, Helmstedt 1583.

⁵³ David Chytraeus, *Chronicon Saxoniae*, Leipzig (Lantzenberger) 1563, p. 280.

⁵⁴ For the idea of a 'translatio studii' see Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Translatio artium. Über die Herkunft und die Entwicklung einer kulturgeschichtlichen Theorie', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 46, 1964, pp. 1–22. See also Ludwig Krapf, *Germanenmythus und Reichsideologie. Frühhumanistische Rezeptionsweisen der taciteischen "Germania"*, Tübingen (Niemeyer) 1979, pp. 91–93.

⁵⁵ Gerrit Walther, 'Nation als Exportgut. Mögliche Antworten auf die Frage: Was heißt „Diffusion des Humanismus?“', in: Johannes Helmuth, Ulrich Muhlack, Gerrit Walther (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, Göttingen (Wallstein) 2002, pp. 436–446.

for later chorographies, the discussion of the Batavians as the *gens originum* had played an essential part in search of the roots and the nature of the Dutch nation.⁵⁶ The identification of the Batavian homeland, based on evidence from Tacitus' *Germania*, was a key topic in historiography throughout the early years of the Dutch Republic, with both Holland and Gelderland claiming the place within their own territories, but the discussion predated the uprising and the patriotic propaganda of the United Provinces.⁵⁷ Cornelius Aurelius' introduction of the Batavians as the predecessors of the Dutch was based on the rediscovery of Tacitus' *Germania*, where this German tribe was described as an auxiliary force to the Roman Empire. The emphatic praise of Aurelius for the Batavians and their idyllic rural society must also be read as a humanist critique of traditional origin myths prevalent in the Middle Ages and still prominent in the early sixteenth century. With his eulogy on the Batavians, Aurelius wanted to distance himself from the Trojan origin stories which underlined the genealogies of the leading dynasties of the time—not just in the Netherlands, but elsewhere in Europe.⁵⁸ His interpretation did not remain uncontroversial. It was

⁵⁶ Cornelius Aurelius, *Divisie-kroniek*, 1517, See Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus. Aurelius and the Divisie-kroniek of 1517*, Nieuwkoop (De Graaf) 1992. With reference to the margin to the text in the first edition Tilmans points out that the introduction and discussion of the Batavians was the most read part of the book. See Tilmans, *Historiography*, p. 235. This search for a *gens originum* which could match, to some extent, the traditional claims of Roman superiority and civilization by highlighting different virtues such as valiance, virility and honesty was part of a pan-European response to the dominance of Italian Renaissance thought. Camden had tried to do this for England by firstly highlighting the Britons and then the Saxons as part of the Germanic tribal family covered in Tacitus's *Germania*. See Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, chapters 1 and 12. More generally, see Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History, Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder*, New Haven/London (Yale University Press) 1998, chapter 7.

⁵⁷ For an overview of contemporary historiography on the Batavians see, for instance, E.O.G. Haitisma Mulier, 'De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 111 (1996), pp. 344–367 and for the pre-Revolt historiography István Bejczy, 'Drie humanisten en een mythe. De betekenis van Erasmus, Aurelius en Geldenhouwer voor de Bataafse kwestie', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 109 (1996), pp. 467–484. See also Karin Tilmans, 'De ontwikkeling van een vaderlands-begrip in den laat-middeleeuwse en vroeg-moderne geschiedschrijving van den Nederlanden', in: Niek C.F. van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis van de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 1999, pp. 36–38.

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas. The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, New Haven/London (Yale University Press) 1993; Robert Stein, *Politiek en Historiografie. Het ontstaanmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Leuven (Peeters) 1994; *ibid.*, 'Brabant

not only embedded in the then current discussions on origins, but must also be read as a comment on the political turmoil in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century, and particularly on the role of the Dukes of Gelderland, who attempted to expand their territory at the expense of their western neighbours.⁵⁹ In this context, the appropriation of the Batavians as Hollanders was a political statement claiming the *gens originum* for Holland—a statement which did not remain unchallenged. Specifically, Aurelius' contemporary Gerard Geldenhouwer, Augustinian canon with roots in Nijmegen's patrician elite, and later convert to Lutheranism, offered a different version of the Batavian settlement, whose centre he identified with Nijmegen, thus supporting the expansionist ambitions of his Gelderland overlords.⁶⁰ The controversy between these two authors remained a frequent point of reference for later chorographers, who felt obliged to comment or take sides in the debate.⁶¹ What remained undisputed, however, was a clear support of the idea that Dutch origins were distinctly non-noble: not based on Trojan or Roman ancestry or biblical founding fathers, but on an indigenous Germanic people.

In Pontanus' analysis, the Batavians were firmly identified as the predecessors of the Hollanders, but could not claim to be the founding fathers of Amsterdam. His interpretation of the origins of the city was based on Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (rather than on Tacitus), in

en de Karolingische dynastie. Over het ontstaan van een historiografische traditie', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 110, 3 1995, pp. 329–351; *ibid.*, 'Historiografie, literatuur en onderwijs in Brabant, 1356–1430' in: Jan Oudheusden & Raymond van Uytven (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Brabant. Van het hertogdom tot heden*, Zwolle/Leuven (Waanders) 2004, pp. 187–197; Gerd Melville, 'Vorfahren und Vorgänger. Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft', in: Peter-Johannes Schuler (ed.), *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Sigmaringen (Winkler) 1987, pp. 203–309. Aurelius was not alone in his criticism of legendary Trojan ancestry. Criticism of the Trojan origin myth can also be found in Paolo Emilio, *De rebus gestis Francorum libri IX*, Paris, ca. 1518, challenging the Frankish genealogy and claims of the Frankish kings to Trojan origins.

⁵⁹ For a history of Gelderland in the late middle ages see, for instance, Gerard Nijsten et al., *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The court of Guelders in the late Middle Ages*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2004; I.D. Jacobs (ed.), *Het Hertogdom Gelre*, Utrecht (Matrijs) 2003.

⁶⁰ Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum insula*, Antwerp 1520. For further details see Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus* and E.O.G. Haitisma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500–1800*, pp. 148–150.

⁶¹ Most vehemently, perhaps, in the works of Johannes Smetius, who will be discussed in Chapter III of this present study.

which the Celtic Menapiers were identified as the earliest inhabitants of Amsterdam. A visual aid for this interpretation, which was not shared by all intellectuals at the time, was provided in Pontanus' map of Holland, which included a reference to the Menapiers and their home territory around Amsterdam. The map used tribal locations as its descriptors, thus including, in addition to the *Menapii*, the *Batavia*, *Frisii Minores at Majores*, *Caninefates* and others.⁶² However, the Batavians also feature prominently in Pontanus' discussion of eminent men in Amsterdam. Chapter 28 of the book gives an interesting and important insight into Pontanus' perspective and aims. Although it is titled *Eenighe treffelicke ende vermaerde mannen van Amsterdam, nae t'vervolgh der jaeren ghestelt*⁶³ it is not restricted to Amsterdam dignitaries, but included a whole ensemble of heroes and eminent men from the province and elsewhere in the Dutch Republic. The early period prominently featured the Batavians. With reference to Tacitus, Pontanus constructed an image of the Batavian people as a nation which stood out in comparison with the other Barbarians in Roman times—the Gauls and the “High Germans”, as Pontanus described them.⁶⁴ They were, according to Pontanus, interested in honour and fame to an extent that was usually reserved for wise and educated men. Interest in knowledge and education was constructed here as a natural feature of the Hollanders and was connected with the humanist qualities of *Gloria* and *Magnanimitas*. These characteristics were clearly reflected in the current national temperament, in Pontanus' view. Pontanus thus responded in humanist fashion creating an image of civility based on education, learning and thirst for knowledge which was part of the humanist remit of the sixteenth century. Comparisons with Roman civility were even drawn from the culinary culture of the Batavians, with Pontanus emphasizing that: “Tesselschen Kaes, op dat ic vanden Leytschen ende Edamschen zwijghe, is in geen en deele slechter als den Parmesaen” (Tessel Cheese, to say nothing of those of Leiden and Edam, is in no way inferior to Parmesan).⁶⁵ It is with much more care that Pontanus described the Batavians' role as, first, *foederati*, and later, for a brief period, enemies

⁶² Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 4–8. The main map of Holland and the map of Amstelland used contemporary Dutch place names.

⁶³ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 276.

⁶⁴ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 276–277.

⁶⁵ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 7.

of Rome. The Batavian uprising in the wake of the Emperor Nero's death in 69/70 A.D., headed by the legendary brothers Claudius alias Julius and Paulus Civilis against their Roman overlords, and which ended with the death of the Batavian leaders and an overall stalemate, led to a new confederation with Rome, in which, according to Dutch interpreters, the Batavians could secure their 'Batavian Liberties' against the Roman superpower. This Batavian myth was frequently evoked in political debates about the Dutch Revolt. The Batavian insistence on established and traditional rights against taxes unlawfully imposed by the Roman overlords served as an ideal precedent to justify the Dutch uprising against their Habsburg rulers and was used accordingly.⁶⁶ This interpretation, however, was not uncontroversial in the intellectual world of the time. Philip Cluverius, an academic from Danzig, challenged the version of Tacitus' history which presented the Batavians as voluntary auxiliaries of the Romans.⁶⁷ He also challenged everything that its supporters, Hugo Grotius and Pontanus, had highlighted as 'Batavian Liberties'. In Cluverius' reading of Tacitus, there were no cities or towns prior to the arrival of the Romans in Batavia. Moreover, the Batavians were ruled by hereditary kings, and not, as Pontanus and others had claimed, by acclamation of the best and the brightest amongst their midst. This attack on an idealized version of their ancestors which fitted so well into the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century scenario of the Dutch Revolt and highlighted what might be labelled the proto-Republican practices of the Dutch forefathers, could not remain unchallenged. Pontanus defended his version of Batavian history in a series of publications in 1614 and 1617.⁶⁸ It is perhaps not surprising that the academic establishment in the Netherlands responded to Cluverius' interpretation with reservation.⁶⁹ Some of his theses, however, were accepted and incorporated

⁶⁶ Most importantly, perhaps, by Hugo Grotius in his *Liber de antiquitate reipublicae Batavae*, Leiden 1610, where he discussed the 'Batavian Liberty' as a proforma for the political organization of the Dutch Republic.

⁶⁷ Philipus Cluverius, *Commentarius de tribus Rhēni alveis, et ostiis; item de quinque populis quondam accolis, scilicet de Toxandris, Batavis, Caninefantibus, Frisiis ac Marsacis etc.*, Leiden 1611; *ibid.*, *Germaniae antiquae libris tres*, Leiden 1616.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the Pontanus-Cluverius debate see E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken'.

⁶⁹ On Petrus Scriverius' and Arnoldus Buchelius' criticism of Cluverius see Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, pp. 228–231. Hugo Grotius tried to support Pontanus by calling Cluverius a polemicist who did not even abstain from attacks on Caesar and Tacitus. Letter printed in Antonius Matthaeus (ed.), *Andrea Alciati, ad*

into the later chorographies of Amsterdam. Although they were not directly related to the story of Amsterdam, Pontanus clearly felt it necessary to include references to the story in his book. These, however, sit somewhat awkward in his narrative. The Batavian uprising was first mentioned in Chapter 10, which consists of the narrative of the Dutch Revolt, under the title *Een disgressie*—a digression.⁷⁰ Here, Pontanus retold the story “tot verghelijkinghe derer afwijckinghe der Hollanders van de Spaenjaerden” (in comparison with the Revolt of the Hollanders against the Spanish) and likened the Prince of Orange to Civilis. To this effect he even found it necessary to incorporate a translated version of Tacitus’ own account of the event. It is this role as an exemplar for the fight for Dutch freedom against an imperial oppressor which kept interest in the Batavians alive in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. While academic debates over the Barbarian tribes and their role as honourable founding fathers and real alternatives to biblical or Roman origin myths in the Holy Roman Empire, for instance, lost their persuasive force and came to be replaced by confessional and territorial discourses in the historical writings of the seventeenth century, the reference to the Batavians in their role as defenders of Dutch freedoms remained an important argumentative requisite in the political debates on the nature of the Dutch State and its emergence from Spanish power. Early discussions of the Batavians, for instance in Aurelius’ *Divisiekroneik*, had not mentioned the existence of a Claudius/Julius Civilis or his brother Paulus at all. This aspect of the Batavian myth gained a new currency only at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The references to Batavians, therefore, remained part of the patriotic narrative of the Netherlands for much longer than similar references to non-Roman ancestry in other national historiographies. As elsewhere, however, although the distinctive physical features of the tribe were often outlined, the concept of a Batavian nation was not used as a marker of ethnicity, but of moral-ethical qualities. While in the confessional historiography of Protestant Germany these qualities were quickly related to Christianity and the adoption of the ‘True Church’, Pontanus remained conspicu-

Bernardum Mattium *epistol. Accedit Sylloge epistolarum Giphani, Vulcani, Tychonis Brahe, Scriverii, Pontani, Vossi etc.*, Leiden 1695, no. 47, cited in Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV (1588–1648)*, p. 42 n.

⁷⁰ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinghe*, p. 88.

ously quiet on the subject of the religious practices of the Batavians, even though Tacitus did make some observations on their rituals which could have been incorporated, and which were used by other chorographers for different purposes.⁷¹

ORIGIN MYTHS

After the discussion of Amsterdam's geographical surroundings and of the Batavians, Pontanus moved on to an interpretation of the origins of the city. Origin and foundation myths played a prominent role in medieval town chronicles and histories across Europe, because they established the antiquity of urban societies.⁷² They were eminently important in the creation of urban identity and the contextualization of civic life within a wider cultural framework, defined by Christianity, the reference to antiquity, and folklore.⁷³ The content and the narrative of these myths were not static; neither had they been created 'naturally' or 'organically'. They were, as Gervase Rosser and, more recently, Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Peter Fleming, have pointed out, negotiated amongst the various interest groups in urban society.⁷⁴ They also changed over time in response to contemporary political issues both on local and national levels. Historiography has, so far, focused on what has long been seen as the 'Golden Age' of town chronicles in the late Middle Ages.⁷⁵ Much less is known about early modern chronicles

⁷¹ See, for instance, Johannes Smetius, *Oppidum Batavorum Seu Noviomagum Liber Singularis etc.*, Amsterdam (Blauw) 1644, discussed in Chapter III and Johan Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge van Eenige Antiquiteten Der Provintien en Landen Gelegen tusschen de Noord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe*, Amsterdam (Tymon Houthaak) 1660, which will be discussed in Chapter VII.

⁷² Gervase Rosser, 'Myth, image and social process in the English medieval town', *Urban History* 23, 1996, pp. 5–25, here p. 7.

⁷³ Stephanie Dzeja, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Stadt*, pp. 112–134 and the literature cited here. For Dutch medieval foundation myths see Karin Tilmans, 'Autentijck ende warachtig'.

⁷⁴ Gervase Rosser, 'Myth, image and social process in the English medieval town'; Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies. Essais sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, Turnhout (Brepols) 2004. See also Peter Fleming, 'Making History: Culture, Politics and *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar*'.

⁷⁵ For research into medieval urban origin myth see, for instance, Rudolf Hiestadt, 'Civis Romanus sum'. Zum Selbstverständnis bürgerlicher Führungsschichten in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten', in: Peter Wunderli (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung. Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation*, Sigmaringen (Winkler) 1994, pp. 91–109.

and chorographies, and their use of origin myths. For early humanists such as Aurelius, the narrative of a city's origin needed to be contextualized within the wider cultural world—perhaps even more so than for their medieval predecessors. This led to what Karin Tilmans has aptly labelled the *translatio urbanitatis* approach to the interpretation of a city's past.⁷⁶ Parallel to the use of Trojan ancestry as a dynastic argument, some cities and towns claimed Trojan founding fathers.⁷⁷ This strategy, however, came under criticism in the course of the sixteenth century and even more so in the seventeenth century.

It has been argued that in spite of the demise of Trojan ancestry and the Reformation critique of hagiography, origin myths as such did not lose their relevance in the ideological glue that bound urban society together. Their focus was adapted according to the agenda of the time. Gervase Rosser, for instance, has demonstrated how the legendary dragon-slayers Saint George and Saint Margret disappeared from the annual civic pageants in Norwich after the Reformation, while the beast itself remained part of the procession.⁷⁸ Likewise, legendary founders who might already have been dismissed in the learned literature were still present at pageants and festivals. Thus, Henry VII was greeted by Bristol's legendary founding father Brennius upon his entry into Bristol in 1486.⁷⁹ Similar developments can, no doubt, be traced in urban histories and chorographies in the Netherlands. It must be remembered, however, that different expressions of urban identity, be it through an architectural programme, entries, pageants and plays or written histories did not respond simultaneously to changes in perceptions and interpretations of the past. Different spaces—intellectual as well as physical—of a town or city were occupied by different social groups and their commemorative agenda at different times.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Karin Tilmans, "Autentijck ende warachtig", p. 82.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, Aurelius on Utrecht in Tilmans, "Autentijck ende warachtig".

⁷⁸ Gervase Rosser, 'Myth, Image and social process in the English medieval town', pp. 20–21.

⁷⁹ For this and the Brennius legend see Peter Fleming, 'Making History: Culture, Politics and *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar*'.

⁸⁰ Marc Boone, 'Urban space and urban identity in late medieval Europe. Espace urbain, identité dans l'Europe du bas moyen âge', in: Marc Boone/Peter Stabel (eds.), *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe. L'apparition d'une identité urbaine dans l'Europe du bas moyen âge*. Leuven/Appeldoorn (Garant) 2000, pp. VII–IX. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies*; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *De Gentse Memorieboeken als spiegel van stedelijk historisch bewustzijn (14de tot 16de eeuw)*, Ghent (Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde) 1998; ead., 'S'imaginer

The origins of Amsterdam as presented by Pontanus show a marked departure from the traditional pattern of Trojan, or even aristocratic founders. In his version, the founding fathers of the city are two unnamed poor fishermen who appreciated the geographical location at the junction of the rivers IJ and Amstel and started a settlement there.⁸¹ This version of Amsterdam's entry into history has echoes of the Roman founding myth of the brothers Romulus and Remus which was mentioned in later chorographies. This comparison, however, was not elaborated on to raise the city's genealogical profile in Pontanus' study. On the contrary, the meteoric rise of the city from its humble origins fitted neatly into the ideology of Amsterdam—and, to some extent, the Dutch Republic in general—as a non-aristocratic enterprise based on the hard work of its men and women, rather than on inherited privilege and lineage. This version of the city's origins also helped to position Amsterdam amongst urban competitors with a more distinguished origin. Clearly, the city could not compete with the seniority and prominence of earlier foundations elsewhere in Holland such as Utrecht, Dordrecht, Leiden or Haarlem. With the reference to its humble and unimpressive origins, historians of Amsterdam refused to enter into the argument about *vetustas* so prominent in earlier town histories elsewhere.⁸² What remained, however, was the reference to industry (in this case the fishing industry) and the prominent role of waterways in Amsterdam's history which could certainly be drawn from its origins to the current position of the city.

INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS AND CULTURE

The fictitious guided tour in the topographical section of his book offers a prime example of Pontanus' perception of the most important facets of the city. His description of Amsterdam's physical space in Book II begins with a discussion of the pros and cons of ecclesiastical

le passé et le présent: conscience historique et identité urbaine en Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge', in: Hanno Brand, Pierre Monnet, Martial Staub (eds.), *Memoria, Communitas, Civitas. Mémoire et Conscience Urbaines en Occident à la Fin du Moyen Âge* (Beihefte der Francia 55), Ostfildern (Thorbecke) 2003, pp. 167–181.

⁸¹ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 2–3.

⁸² See, for instance, the competition between Cologne and Trier for seniority and age through their historians, as described in Stephanie Dzeja, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Stadt*, pp. 114–115.

orders and an argument in favour of the dissolution of the monasteries, which had taken place in the city after the *Alteratie* in 1578. Here, Pontanus showed his true Calvinist colours, as well as his knowledge of theological debates and the Protestant rhetoric on the position and role of monasticism prevalent in Reformation Europe.⁸³ Pontanus entered the debate with a traditional theological attack on monasticism based on his reading of early church fathers such as Hieronymus and Augustine.⁸⁴ He then answered potential worries that the dissolution of the monasteries would deprive the city of good and useful charitable institutions. One can assume that these debates actually took place in Amsterdam after the *Alteratie*. Here, Pontanus highlighted the role of the new charities such as orphanages, schools, houses of correction, hospitals and others. The theological debate was preceded by an argument taken from the city's history, in which Pontanus drew parallels between the Count of Holland's attempts to stop monastic infringements on Amsterdam's property market in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and referred the reader to edicts of Charles V to this effect.⁸⁵ Both history, law and theology are thus applied in an argumentative broadside on a topic which had been hotly debated in Amsterdam's population around 1578. After this discussion, it is not surprising that Pontanus needed to present the charities which were set up by the city as replacements for the traditional Catholic institutions. He went into great detail to persuade his fictitious critics that the new establishments far surpassed their Catholic predecessors in efficiency and management.

⁸³ Indicative of his own position is, perhaps, the word 'wy', we, which Pontanus used in his argument: "Dit moet alleenlijc int voor by gaan voor gaen ofte veel eer beantwoort zijn aen den ghenen, die moeghelick zullen segghen, dat wy de ghene zijn die den schoon gestifften der voorouderen verwerpen, die alle dinghen omme keeren, oock die men tot de oudheydt selve in eeren behoort te houden, als hemel ende aerde t'saemen vermenghende. Maer zo wy de waerheyt den deckmantel soo men ghemeynelick seyt wechnemende ende alles van de beginnelsen selve willen wat hooger ervatten, wat heeft de Monnikerije deses tijds ghelijc met de oude ende eerste eeuwe?", Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 106. It is also interesting to note Pontanus's use of the argument of 'truth' which had been at the heart of confessional debates in the times of the Reformation.

⁸⁴ This argument resulted in the book to be put on the Index. Pontanus still had to defend his argument in his epistolary exchange with Franciscus Sweertius as late as 1628. Pontanus, *Epistola apologetica, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1628, cited in Zwager, p. 5.

⁸⁵ The edict of Charles V of 16 October 1531 is reproduced in the text. Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 37–39. It is here that the comparison of Amsterdam with Venice is applied.

His description began with a survey of Amsterdam's most important social institutions: the municipal orphanage, the Leprosy Hospital and the homes for the elderly.⁸⁶ Amsterdam's notorious House of Correction was also included, thus extending the responsibility of urban government from charity to the maintenance of law and order. Gruesome examples of false beggars and their punishment were added to give the impression of a well-ordered and well-managed society which was both just and righteous.⁸⁷ The centre of this common wealth was the Town Hall—a rather modest building compared to its grandiose successor of the 1660s. It was followed by a description of the East India House and the most important market squares. To this ensemble of eminent buildings, designed to create and to appeal to the civic pride of citizens and visitors, Pontanus added a description of the cultural centres in the city. These included the two municipal schools and the Public Library, which had been opened in 1578 in Amsterdam's main church, the *Nieuwe Kerk* (it was moved to the *Athenaeum* when it was opened in 1631). A large part of its collection had been assembled from the various Catholic churches and monastic libraries in the city after 1578, but here Pontanus was eager to disconnect the books from their Catholic past. He compared Amsterdam's library to the classical libraries in Alexandria and Rome, which were, he argued, also housed in or near temples. As a Calvinist, Pontanus did not want to give any credit to medieval Catholic institutions, which were excised of his story.

This reference to classical, rather than medieval, intellectual origins was, of course, part and parcel of the humanist programme of his time. It gave Pontanus the opportunity to sever the cultural roots of his city from the former Habsburg rulers and their handmaiden, the Catholic Church. Cultural and intellectual heroes were presented in the list of eminent men at the end of the book.⁸⁸ This section first introduced the Batavians and their intellectual world, as described above. For the medieval and early modern period, Pontanus clearly distinguished between pre- and post-Erasman scholars. Erasmus himself was presented as the unsurpassable giant amongst the intellectuals of his time.

⁸⁶ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 107–125.

⁸⁷ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 132–137.

⁸⁸ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 276–287. The Latin version included various poems by Sibrandus Occo (Pontanus, *Rerum*, pp. 241–243) which had not been incorporated into the Dutch edition.

He was “de geleertheydt selve”—scholarship itself.⁸⁹ This reference was again testimony to Pontanus’ underlying theme in his study. Erasmus had no personal links to Amsterdam at all. It is here that the history of Amsterdam becomes closely linked to the national cause of the Northern Netherlands. For Pontanus, the history of the intellectual world of the city was also the history of the Dutch nation. At the same time, Pontanus by referring to Erasmus, was making an eminently political statement. Erasmus and his works were by no means unanimously praised in the Dutch Republic. It was not so much his enduring Catholicism that ignited controversy in the North. In the early seventeenth century, Erasmus became a bone of contention between the political and religious factions of the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants who dominated the theological and political debates of the time. While Remonstrants praised Erasmus as one of their heroes in search of a more liberal attitude towards church authority, Counter-Remonstrants vilified him as an affront to the orthodox reformed.⁹⁰ With his emphatic praise of Erasmus, Pontanus reflected the Amsterdam regents’ position in the controversy, which frequently changed, but which followed a pro-Remonstrant course at the time of his publication. As Benjamin Kaplan has pointed out, Erasmus was elevated to the status of spiritual founding father of a distinctly Dutch Reformation by some protagonists of the Remonstrant party.⁹¹ “As a Hollander, an eminent intellectual and a champion of a ‘purified’ Christianity”,⁹² Erasmus was, for Pontanus and others, the ideal role model for every Dutchman of his time. In this role the Rotterdammer was presented in the *Historische Beschrijvinge*. Other heroes both before and after

⁸⁹ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 278.

⁹⁰ In Rotterdam, this led to debates about a statue which had originally been erected in his honour in 1549, and which witnessed frequent incarnations over the next sixty years. See J.H.W. Unger, ‘De Standbeelden van Desiderius Erasmus’, *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 1890, pp. 265–285.

⁹¹ Benjamin Kaplan, “‘Dutch’ religious tolerance: celebration and revision”, in: Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2002, pp. 8–26, here pp. 14–15. Kaplan refers, for instance, to Hugo Grotius’ *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae Poetas* (1613) and to Gerard Brandt’s *Historie der Reformatie*, 4 vols., Amsterdam (Rieuwertz) 1671–1701. For the idea of an indigenous Dutch Reformation based on Erasmus and the *Devotio Moderna* see also: Charles H. Parker, ‘To the Attentive and Nonpartisan Reader: The appeal to history and national identity in the religious disputes of the seventeenth-century Netherlands’, *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 28,1, 1997, pp. 57–78.

⁹² Kaplan, “‘Dutch’ religious tolerance”, p. 15.

Erasmus were clearly taken from the range of Protestant intellectuals and, for the fifteenth century, from scholars, whose works Pontanus interpreted as proto-Protestant. As in his description of Amsterdam's academic and intellectual centres, Pontanus excluded Catholics from his list of men of learning, or, where possible, turned Catholics into intellectual predecessors of Protestantism. These included the theologians Nikolaus, Helwig and Johannes of Amsterdam. The list of intellectuals of prominence in post-Erasmian Amsterdam covered theologians such as Franciscus Wormundus, who shared a career in Denmark with Pontanus and philologists such as Dirk Volkerts Coornhert, whose contribution to the world of learning included Greek and Latin re-editions of classical texts, as expected from humanist scholars, but also promoted the vernacular language, Dutch, in his works.⁹³ Both aspects, the promotion of Protestantism in its (moderate) Calvinist form and the use of the Dutch language in intellectual discourse, neatly summarize Pontanus' intellectual programme not only for the city, but for the young Dutch Republic: namely, a necessary departure from Habsburg and Burgundian practice and a clear framework for the culture of the new state.⁹⁴ This intellectual world should ideally not be restricted to schools and libraries or to the ivory towers of academia. Merchants and administrators should, according to Pontanus, play an equally prominent part in the shaping and the spread of Dutch culture. This ideal was exemplified in his extensive praise of the recently deceased (1612) Amsterdam merchant and *rederijker* Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, who corresponded with Justus Lipsius and Joseph Scaliger, and who had left a remarkable and very popular poem, the *Hertspiegel*, praising education and knowledge as desirable virtues for men of money.⁹⁵

⁹³ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 283–284. For a discussion of the rhetoricians and their contribution to the use of Dutch in Literature see, for instance, Marijke Spies, 'Rhetoric and Civic Harmony in the Dutch Republic of the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century', in: Peter L. Oesterreich, Thomas O. Sloane (eds.), *Rhetorica Movet. Studies in Historical and Modern Rhetoric in Honour of Heinrich F. Plett*, Leiden (Brill) 1999, pp. 57–72.

⁹⁴ For discussion of the use of the vernacular in the Netherlands see, for instance, J. Jansen, 'Purity and the Language of the Court in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Netherlands', in: Nicholas Watson, Fiona Somerset (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue. Medieval and Post-Medieval Vernacularity*, Penn State (PSU Press) 2003, pp. 166–176.

⁹⁵ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 285.

MINORITIES, RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND IMMIGRANTS

Pontanus' attempts to create a new, cultured Dutchman with a clear understanding of what it was to be Dutch, who could combine the world of learning with the world of trade and who financed learned institutions, did not leave much room for outsiders. The numerous immigrants who built the extensions to the city and who formed the backbone of Amsterdam's prosperity as sailors, labourers and artisans in the shipbuilding industry and elsewhere, do not appear in his description of Amsterdam.

Pontanus' coverage of the foreign influx into the city was restricted to the role of merchants trading with Amsterdam, who were portrayed in some detail. They were guests in the city.⁹⁶

Foreign involvement with the VOC was outlined, but the company's crews, predominantly Germans and Scandinavians, are not mentioned at all. Likewise, when Pontanus covered the extensions to the city, the role of migrants was noticeably absent. Although Pontanus discussed the various development programmes from 1585 to 1611 in great detail, the reasons for the building boom, i.e. the large influx of newcomers to the city, remained obscure. Pontanus made some tentative references to the fortifications of 1585 and therefore the military threats of the Eighty Years' War, but demographic growth was not mentioned here.

Other foreign institutions, such as refugee churches, were not mentioned either. In his description of St. Joris Hof, Pontanus mentioned the French Church, whose members were granted the right to worship in French in 1586, in only a single line, in which he identifies the building as the former *Paulinianenklooster*.⁹⁷

At first sight, this omission of migrants in the city in Pontanus' text seems surprising. This lack of an immigrant presence in Dutch chorographies was also not necessarily the norm. As will be shown in a later chapter, Samuel Ampzing also blended immigration out of his praise of Haarlem, in spite of the fact that the city witnessed an influx of foreigners on a similar scale as Amsterdam. Leiden's chorographer, Jan Janszoon Orlers, on the other hand, made Leiden's immigrant textile workers from the South an integral part of the success story of the

⁹⁶ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 155.

⁹⁷ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 113.

city.⁹⁸ In Pontanus' exclusion of the topic, however, two aspects might be of importance. Firstly, people from the lower echelons of society, which included many immigrants, were not a topic for a chorography, or, indeed any other learned text. As much as he omitted foreign workers in the shipping industry, he also omitted indigenous people of lower status, unless they achieved some form of prominence or notoriety.⁹⁹ Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, before leaving room for diversity, Pontanus and the early historians of the Dutch Republic felt it necessary to create an image of unity, both among the often not-so-United Provinces and in the cities, whose daily life had often been severely disrupted by controversy surrounding the Revolt and factious strife bordering on civil war.¹⁰⁰ These elements had to be blended out of the story of the city in order to create a positive image for its present and its future. Foreigners, other than prosperous guests and dissenters of any kind, had no place in this image. This reluctance to take account of a part of Amsterdam's population which did not conform to the picture that Pontanus had created of the ideal Dutchman also included the neglect of Amsterdam's large non-Calvinist population. This refusal to acknowledge the multi-confessional reality of Amsterdam's everyday life, however, corresponded to the then strong church policy in Amsterdam (after 1578 and particularly after 1580) which was in line with the strong wave of anti-Catholic sentiments in the United Provinces, fuelled by the spectacular move of George de Lalaing, Count Rennenberg, to the Spanish camp. All forms of Catholic worship, Catholic organizations and Catholic meetings in the city were prohibited. The nature and degree of religious tolerance in the Dutch Republic has been much debated in recent years:¹⁰¹ in

⁹⁸ Jan J. Orlers, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden (van Haestens) 1641.

⁹⁹ These exceptions include the story of a maid who is continually molested by a group of witches, and who eventually succumbs to the Devil's advances. Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 100. This story was frequently retold in later chorographies.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, Raingard Esser, 'Concordia res parvae crescunt'—Regional Histories and the Dutch Republic in the 17th century', in: Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden (Brill) 2006, pp. 229–248. See also Alastair Duke, 'The Elusive Netherlands. The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 119, 2004, pp. 10–35.

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan Israel, Guillaume Henri Marie Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, Leiden (Brill) 1997; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*; Benjamin Kaplan, 'Fictions of

this context Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia has periodized the gradual development of religious tolerance in the Netherlands and has found that the decades between 1572 and 1620 were characterized by the attainment of Calvinist hegemony within the rebellious provinces.¹⁰² Pontanus responded to the policy of the regents of Amsterdam, whose policies followed this trend while still upholding freedom of conscience in the city.¹⁰³

THE DUTCH REVOLT

These observations lead us to the Dutch Revolt and its coverage in Pontanus' study. This passage takes up a substantial part of the book: the story, which narrated the history of Amsterdam from the accession of Philip II to 1585—the last date mentioned in the chapter—took up more than forty pages.¹⁰⁴ At the end of chapter, Pontanus returned to his chronological scheme, introducing the next part of the book, the topographical survey, with the statement that he now wished to leave the bad times behind and turn towards the good times of the city.¹⁰⁵ The Dutch Revolt as a key element of the new Dutch master-narrative was presented in the great histories of the time, such as Emmanuel van Meteren's *Belgische ofte Nederlandsche Historie van onze tijde* (Cologne 1595); Johan Gysius' *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Nederlantsche Beroerten ende Ellendicheden* (Leiden 1616) and Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor's *Oorspronck, begin ende aenvang der Nederlantscher oorlogen, beroerten ende borgerlijcke oneenicheyden. Warachtighe ende historische beschrijvinge* (Utrecht 1595, with further amendments and editions in the seventeenth century). This episode was inevitably problematic for the chorography of Amsterdam. The initial reluctance of the city to join the uprising needed to be explained or blended out of

Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe', *The American Historical Review*, 107/4, 2002, pp. 1031–1064, and most recently, his *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/Mass. (Harvard University Press) 2007.

¹⁰² Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Introduction', in: *ibid.*, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, p. 3.

¹⁰³ For Amsterdam's religious policy in this period see Joke Spaans, 'Stad van veele geloven 1578–1795'.

¹⁰⁴ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 62–104.

¹⁰⁵ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 104, "Laet ons nu van dese swaere tijden tot betere voort treden".

the story. More than anywhere else in the text, Pontanus incorporated events in the wider Dutch world into his history of the Amsterdam of the second part of the sixteenth century. These included key events of the Revolt as narrated by every Dutch historians of the uprising: Pontanus mentioned the massacres of Naarden and Zutphen, the sieges of Haarlem and Leiden, and the departure of the hated Duke of Alba from the Low Countries in 1573.¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, the Duke, and the Spanish in general, were the villains of his story. Alba was described as “een man van een wrevelich ghemoet/ende ghelijck meest zijn de natueren der Spagniardten/van grooten hoochmoet ende graviteyt” (a ill-humoured man and, like most Spaniards, very arrogant and stubborn).¹⁰⁷ The role of Amsterdam in these events, however, was played down significantly, while the description of Spanish atrocities and heroic Dutch defence were designed to appeal to the Dutch cause—which, in Pontanus’ time, was by no means won. Wherever the Amsterdammers appeared in the story of the uprising, they were portrayed as mediators who always tried to maintain independence and prosperity through treaties with the Spanish.¹⁰⁸ This is also reflected, for instance, in the opening address of the book to the “heeren de Schout, Burger ende Rade” to whom Pontanus dedicated the praise:

gelijck off alles rontomme stille waere gheweest, hebt [ghy] by nae gerustelicker, dan anderen in vrede, V.E. handel ter Zee ende te lande ghedreven; gestichten opghericht, ende ten lesten de colonien ende paelen van V.E. stadt buyten het oude begrijp verre uwtgheset. [as if everything around you had been quiet, you have almost more calmly than others in peace time conducted your trade at sea and on land; you have founded and set up urban institutions and lastly you have extended the colonies and boundaries of your city far beyond its old borders.]¹⁰⁹

Moreover, Pontanus suggested that it was Amsterdam’s international activities, not least in the East Indies, that eventually persuaded the Spanish king to contemplate the Truce and to look for alternative means for a peace.¹¹⁰ In this respect, the inclusion of the overseas adventure stories in the text gains a new meaning. They were not only included for their attraction to readers as travel narratives, but they

¹⁰⁶ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 92–100.

¹⁰⁷ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁹ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 4.

also underlined Pontanus' argument that international trade was a means of peace-making.¹¹¹ The whole complex reflected earlier discussions within the Dutch Republic about the Twelve Years' Truce, which had been hotly debated. Enemies of the Truce were often members of the strong Calvinist camp, who saw a peace treaty with Spain as a betrayal of the Calvinist cause and who feared—not unreasonably—that the hard-won unity of the United Provinces, bound together as they were, more by a common enemy than by a common identity, would collapse once the threat was removed. Somewhat surprisingly, Amsterdam's regents had also been opposed to the Truce. A number of merchants feared the loss of the Atlantic trading and privateering enterprises which would be curtailed by a peace treaty. Moreover, the debate surrounding the Truce was part of the power struggle between its greatest advocate, Jan van Oldenbarnevelt, and the city of Amsterdam; Oldenbarnevelt had in the past undermined Amsterdam's initiatives to set up a monopoly over the West Indies trade.¹¹² This episode, however, was removed from Pontanus' story, in which the city was stylised as an ardent advocate for peace.

In Pontanus' survey of the Dutch Revolt, Amsterdam's Catholic majority and the city's political reasoning in favour of remaining under Spanish authorities were also carefully edited out of the story. An alternative reason why the city did not initially side with the Prince of Orange was presented by Pontanus when he emphasized the plundering and atrocities committed by the forces of William van der Mark, Count Lumey, in Amsterdam's suburbs in 1572. Although the Prince had issued an edict condemning the use of violence against members of other religions, the events had "hardened the hearts of the Amsterdammers" against the Orangists, Pontanus argued.¹¹³ It was neither confessional dissent *per se* nor Amsterdam's belief in the Spanish cause that were put forward by Pontanus as an explanation for the city's reluctance to join the Orangist camp. Yet, Amsterdam's role remained difficult to explain for Pontanus, who preferred to emphasize a national, rather than a local, narrative of events for this particular period. It was not only this 'black mark' in Amsterdam's history

¹¹¹ This theme received further coverage not least in the iconographic programme of Amsterdam's new Town Hall, where the peace-loving character of the city was compared favourably with the aggressive expansionism of the Roman Empire.

¹¹² The WIC was only established after the end of the Truce in 1621.

¹¹³ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 92.

that needed to be glossed over with an account of wider events. At this stage, Pontanus still felt it necessary to incorporate the key components of the history of the Dutch Revolt into his story of Amsterdam. The history of the Dutch Revolt until the Twelve Years' Truce was not only part of the living memory of most of his readers. It also needed to be re-told as an affirmative appeal to Dutch unity and the Dutch cause, which was now closely connected with Amsterdam's prosperity. It provided the frame for Amsterdam's current position. Stylistically, Pontanus left no room for argumentation in this part of the text. This episode was narrated with authority—not as a part of a history that could be discussed or debated. As would be the case in later chorographies of Amsterdam, the inclusion of what were seen as key events in the Dutch Revolt was restricted to the first phase of the war and was firmly focused on the great sieges that Hollanders had to endure in the 1570s. Later events were blended out.

Another event in the city's past which was narrated in great detail was an episode of the 1530s which became known for what was regarded as the Anabaptist threat. Amsterdam had been the centre of Dutch Anabaptism in its different forms in the early sixteenth century. Its supporters in the city became heavily involved in events in Münster in the 1530s and developed forms of apocalyptic millenarianism, wherein the overthrow of Amsterdam's government and the establishment of a regime designed after the New Jerusalem in Münster played a leading, or at least the most vocal, part. The story of the Anabaptist defeat provided Pontanus with a framework in which he could again praise the good government and the vigilance of the city in dealing with prospective take-overs from what were seen as fanatical elements in Amsterdam. Pontanus described in great detail the clandestine meetings of the sect in the city and their attempted coup against Amsterdam's government in 1535.¹¹⁴ The abhorrent practices of one of the Anabaptist groups, such as the *naaktlopers* who ran naked through the city were described not least, perhaps, to appeal to the more salacious instincts of his readership, and rhetorical devices such as direct and indirect speech were scattered throughout the episode to add further drama to the story. However, it is here that

¹¹⁴ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 41–62. For a history of Anabaptism in Amsterdam see Albert F. Mellink, *Amsterdam en de wederdopers in de zestiende eeuw*, Nijmegen (SUN) 1978.

the reader also finds comical elements. These include the story of the exploits of the drunken town clerk's servant, who, at the height of the tumult, while Anabaptists tried to occupy the Town Hall, cut the bell-rope of the town bell in order to avoid further disruption of his well-deserved nap under the benches of the Town Hall's assembly room. The ringing of the bells had been intended as a sign for the uprising to start. With his act the clerk unwittingly saved the city government: the fanatics were overthrown with the help of the city militias and either hanged or burnt. Here, it was the deed of a 'poor and simple' soul, but also, perhaps, more importantly, the success of civic institutions such as the militias, that saved the city. The story fitted well into Pontanus' master-narrative of a well-ordered, god-fearing government that could withstand any fanatical threats. The episode became part of the canon of memorable events which was repeated in other chorographies of Amsterdam and of Holland. At the same time, Pontanus was able to add a touch of lightheartedness to his study by incorporating one of the more inveterate stereotypes of the Dutch character: the consumption of huge quantities of alcohol.¹¹⁵ The "*rasende onsinnicheyt*"¹¹⁶ of the Anabaptists was seen as a real and present threat to the city authority but offered the opportunity to introduce a comical character into Amsterdam's urban narratives.

THE ROLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Less controversial was the city's medieval past in Pontanus' survey. The chapter covering Amsterdam's history to 1585, in Book I mixed the historical events with a survey of important, in this case largely ecclesiastical, places, thus combining history and topography. Early developments up to the thirteenth century were not covered at all, and one of the key events in Amsterdam's history as identified in Pontanus' introduction, the grant of privilege by Floris V, Count of Holland, after the defeat of Gysbrecht van Amstel, was only mentioned relatively briefly.¹¹⁷ What was important, however, was the inclusion of historical documents, such as the grant of toll freedom by Count Floris

¹¹⁵ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches; An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, New York, (Knopf) 1987, pp. 188–220.

¹¹⁶ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, p. 13.

given in 1275, in their Dutch translation. In Pontanus' account, this episode was an important stepping stone towards Amsterdam's greatness. It is interesting to note how Pontanus presented the chequered and often aggressive relations between Holland and its neighbours, and Utrecht in particular. Here, the numerous conflicts that riddled Holland and Amsterdam's medieval past were described as rivalries and quarrels between aristocratic houses. The undertone of criticism against aristocratic self-interest is evident, and would certainly have appealed to the Dutch *burgher*-values that Amsterdam's elite wished to promote. By blaming the factious dynasties, Pontanus also circumvented the fact that the United Provinces had, in fact, been anything but united in the past. In this way Pontanus prevented past wars from becoming a liability for Dutch unity.

OLFERT DAPPER

Pontanus set the agenda for a wealth of chorographies in the course of the seventeenth century, not just on Amsterdam, but on many major towns and cities in the Low Countries. His book remained the only chorography of Amsterdam until the 1660s, which then saw an explosion of works on the city with the publication of no fewer than five volumes in the decade. These chorographies no longer appeared in Latin, but were written in the vernacular and other modern languages—in the case of Philip von Zesen, in German with translations into Dutch. Pontanus' vision of Dutch as the language of the learned had, evidently, become a reality by this time—although it must be conceded that none of those writing about Amsterdam's history were academics; they belonged nevertheless to the intellectual and cultural core of the city.¹¹⁸ The renewed interest in descriptions of the city in this particular period was certainly prompted by the completion of Amsterdam's cityscape, with the Town Hall—praised as the eighth wonder of the world—the newest and most stunning architectural attraction and a fitting tribute to the city's growth and prosperity.

¹¹⁸ Studies which are not further discussed in this chapter include those by Melchior Fokkens, a playwright, Marcus Willemsz Doornik, a printer in Amsterdam, Tobias van Domselaer, regent of the Amsterdam *Schouwburg*, and Philip von Zesen, who worked as a translator for the Dutch East India Company.

More than Pontanus' study they served as guide books for newcomers and visitors, often highlighting early modern tourist attractions, while also covering the most eminent families in the city, and thus providing a convenient 'Who's Who' for new residents wishing to position themselves within the city's elite.¹¹⁹

From the group of writers presenting the city's history and topography in the mid-century, one author will be introduced here.

Little is known about the life of Olfert Dapper. He was born in Amsterdam in 1636 the son of a ropemaker whose own father had immigrated to the city from Westphalia. Dapper died in the city in 1689. In 1658 he was matriculated at the University of Utrecht, probably with the financial help and patronage of the Amsterdam regent Witsen family, who had employed him as a tutor. One and a half years later he returned to his birthplace, where he spent the rest of his life as a physician and scientist. His *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam* was published by Jacob van Meurs in Amsterdam in 1663.¹²⁰ This chorography of Amsterdam was only one among many works by the industrious Dapper. Better known are his description of Africa and Asia.¹²¹ The *Historische Beschryving* was dedicated to his patron, the former Amsterdam *burgomaster* Kornelis Witsen. Dapper's version of Amsterdam's history and topography followed Pontanus' model, but updated the history of the city to his own time, or, to be precise, to

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, Roland Günther, *Amsterdam. Sprache der Bilderwelt, Mediale und ästhetische Aspekte der historischen holländischen Stadt-Kultur*, Berlin (Gebr. Mann Verlag) 1991.

¹²⁰ The complete title of the book is: *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam: waerin de voornaemste geschiedenissen (na een kort verhael van gansch Holland en d'omleggende Dorpen, als Ambachts-heerlijkheden, oder deze Stadt gelegen) die ten tijde der Herdoopers, Nederlandsche beroerten, en onder Prins Willems, de tweede, Stadt-houderlijke Regeering, hier te stede voor-gevallen zijn, verhandelt, en Al de Stads gemeene, zoo Geestelijke als Wereltlijke, Gebouwen, in meer als tzeventig kopere Platen, met haer nevenstaende Beschryving, vertoont worden*. Amsterdam 1663.

¹²¹ His most important studies have been listed in the introduction to the present study. They include: *Beschryvinge der Afrikanischen Gewesten von Egypten, Barbaryen, Lybien etc.*, Amsterdam 1668; *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Lybien, Biledulgerid*, Amsterdam 1668, *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschrijving van gantsch Syrie, en Palestyn, of Heylige Lant*, Amsterdam 1677; *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche eilanden: als Madagaskar, of Sant Laurens, Sant Thomee, d'eilanden van Kanarien, Kaep de Verd, Malta, en andere*, Amsterdam 1677, *ibid.*, *Naukeurige beschrijving van Syrië, behelsende Mesopotamië, Babylonie, Assyrië, Anatolië of Klein Asië, Arabië*, Amsterdam 1680. Most of these works were quickly translated, notably into German.

1652. It seems that Dapper had no access to the city archive, but used the sources presented to him by Witsen's son.

TITLE, ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME AND THE PRESENTATION OF SPACE

The title that Dapper chose for his book echoed Pontanus' study, which was a source of inspiration for his own work. The book combined elements of the narrative form of *Historia* with the antiquarian approach of a *Descriptio*. It also presented the author's priorities in his discussion of Amsterdam's history. Here, he mentioned what he later described as the greatest events, or rather the greatest calamities ("rampen") in the city's past.¹²² His intention was to present

de voornaemste geschiedenissen (na een kort verhael van gansch Holland en d'omleggende Dorpen, als Ambachtsheerlijkheden, onder deze Stadt gelegen), die ten tijde der Herdoopers, Nederlandtsche beroerten, en onder *Prins Willem*, de tweede, Stadthouderlijke Regeering, hier ter stede voor-gevallen zijn [the most important events (after a brief account of Holland as a whole and the villages and estates surrounding the city) which have taken place in the city during the times of the Anabaptists, the Low Countries' Troubles, and under the stadholderate of Prince William II].¹²³

These events only covered the previous 150 years of the city's past and, again, highlighted the commemorative strategy of Amsterdam's chorographers who focused on the immediate rather than the remote past so encroaching on a more contemporary arena not traditionally covered by antiquarian research. Seniority and ancient lineage were less important than the Dutch Revolt and the struggle for law and order in the city, as retold in the episode of the Anabaptists, and more recent events such as Amsterdam's resistance against Prince William II's attempted coup to centralize power in the office and the person of the *stadholder*. That these events, which were still within living memory and in the oral tradition of the city, were regarded as more attractive to both the potential readers of the text and also to Dapper's patrons is perhaps indicated by the fact that only at a much later point in the text, on page 236, where Dapper discussed his choice of historical material, did he add a fourth, and chronologically earlier,

¹²² Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 236.

¹²³ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Title page.

period to the key events in Amsterdam's past, namely the fall of the Lords of Amstel and Count Floris V's negotiations with the city. He thus echoed Pontanus' classification, while omitting the Burgundian period, which Pontanus had identified as the starting point for the growth of Amsterdam. Nor did he refer to Pontanus' periodization of the iron, silver and golden ages.

Neither the medieval nor the Burgundian period, however, fitted easily into the seventeenth-century image of Amsterdam as a powerful, independent player in the Dutch Republic and the wider world. It might be that these periods were, therefore, deliberately omitted from the title of the book, which aimed to catch the readers' attention. The second part of the subtitle is equally indicative of the programme that Dapper had chosen for his book: *Al de Stads gemeene, zoo Geestelijke als Wereltlijke, Gebouwen, in meer als tzeventigh kopere Platen, met haer nevenstaende Beschrijving*.¹²⁴ It is interesting, and perhaps symptomatic, for the relationship between image and printed word at this time, that the "kopere Platen" were not presented as illustrations to the text, but *vice versa*. Here, the images seem to be the primary aim of the publication and the texts merely captions for the engravings. This strategy of emphasizing the print over the written word corresponds with the tradition of the great cartographic projects of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which were particularly strong in the Low Countries and in the Holy Roman Empire. Prestigious and successful, multi-volume enterprises such as Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne 1572–1617), Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp 1570) and, perhaps more specifically in this case, Joan Blaeu's *Toneel der Steeden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden* and *Toneel der Steeden van's Koning's Nederlanden* (both Amsterdam 1652, initially published in Latin in 1649), certainly influenced the way in which chorographies were produced, illustrated and marketed.¹²⁵ It is, therefore, no coincidence that Dapper's work contained no fewer than three 'bird's-eye' double-paged views of Amsterdam, from 1400, 1482 and 1613, and a fourth which is not dated, but which shows

¹²⁴ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Title page.

¹²⁵ On maps and mapmakers in Amsterdam see Paul van den Brink, Jan Werner, *Gesneden en gedrukt in de Kalverstraat. De kaarten— en atlasgedrukkerij in Amsterdam tot in de 19e eeuw*, Utrecht (HES Uitgevers) 1989; Jan Werner, *Inde witte Pascaert. Kaarten en atlassen van Frederick de Wit, uitgever te Amsterdam (ca. 1630–1706)*, Amsterdam (Universiteitsbibliotheek) 1994; Jan Roegiers, Bart van der Herten (eds.), *Eenheid op Papier. De Nederlanden in Kaart van Keizer Karel tot Willem I.*, Leuven (Davidsfonds) 1994.

the latest extensions to the city between 1658 and 1663 (a substantial part of the western extension seems still uninhabited, and the map indicates that the massive fortifications, though complete, are still in progress). It also presents a double-paged prospect of the city. These engravings were printed between pages 40 and 52, in which the author discussed the geographic extensions of the city, but also started on his survey of the Lords of Amstel, the earliest overlords of Amsterdam.¹²⁶ It might be argued that this early appearance of city maps in a book of well over 500 pages demonstrates the importance of illustrations for the marketability of the genre, particularly in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹²⁷ It also reflects the increasing production of maps, cityscapes and images of individual buildings as ornaments and decorations for the town houses of both prosperous and less prosperous citizens of the Dutch Republic.¹²⁸ The remainder of the seventy illustrations promised in the title page are clustered in the description of the city's architectural ensemble presented in Book IV. This is physically the most voluminous part of the book, with its engravings often covering two (unpaginated) pages. In selecting his Amsterdam houses and locations, Dapper began with the most prominent, i.e. with the new Town Hall, which he had already described as the "werelt's achtste wonder" (the eighth wonder of the world) in his dedication.¹²⁹ More than fifty pages were devoted to this building with detailed descriptions of both its exterior and interior and included excerpts from Vondel's laudatory poem *Inwydinge van 't Stadhuis t' Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1655).¹³⁰ Two double-paged images of the front and the back of the building were also incorporated.

¹²⁶ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 49, Tweede Hoofdstuk, Vermaertheit van 't geslacht van Amstel, etc. There are omissions in the pagination between page 45 and what appears as page 49. This might explain why the last, undated, map appears in the historical description rather than in the topographical survey.

¹²⁷ Very little has so far been written about the role of engravings in Dutch chorographies and about the relationship between image and text. A useful introduction based on Jan Janszoon Orlers' *Beschrijving der stad Leyden* is given in: Eddy Verbaan, 'Jan Janszoon Orlers schetst Leiden'.

¹²⁸ Leonore Stapel, *Perspektieven van de stad. Over bronnen, populariteit en functie van het zeventiende-eeuwse stadsgezicht*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2000. See also E.H. van Eeghen, 'Illustraties van de 17de-eeuwse beschrijvingen en plaatwerken van Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 66, 1974, pp. 96–116. For a discussion of prints in other chorographies see especially Chapter VII.

¹²⁹ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stad Amsterdam*, Opdracht, p. 4v.

¹³⁰ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 328–377. Vondel's poem is included on pp. 331–332.

What was missing, however, were detailed engravings of the statues, reliefs and paintings that were so meticulously described in the text. With regard to interiors, Dapper presented only Amsterdam's famous theatre, the *Schouwburg*. Vignettes and details were obviously not part of the iconographic programme expected from chorographies in mid-seventeenth century Holland. The image of a stage, however, had already been fairly extensively used by Jan Janszoon Orlers in his description of Leiden from 1614. This might have inspired Dapper to show the interior of Amsterdam's theatre in his book.¹³¹ What is also missing in Dapper's prints are any portraits. Although images of many of his protagonists and eminent Amsterdamers were available in print vignettes at the time, he refrained from using them.

The travels of the East India Company and depictions of exotic places have completely disappeared in his text. At this stage the city itself offered enough visual attractions and dramatic history to attract a wide readership without reference to Dutch overseas adventures. Moreover, the genre of town chorographies was now an established part of urban self-representation—a fact which Dapper mentioned in his introduction.¹³² References to travel journals, which were still extremely popular at the time, were no longer necessary to market these volumes; nor were the explorations of the Dutch East India Company used in support of arguments for Amsterdam's role in the Revolt.

In terms of style and methodology, Dapper presented himself as a learned man versed in the humanist discourse on ancient texts which he dutifully cited in his introduction. Here he made reference to Ulpianus, Aristides, Seneca and the inevitable Cicero. The latter, however, was not cited with a quote from *De Oratore*, the handbook of every humanist writer, but as the author of the Tusculan disputations. Moreover, the Ciceronian quote that Dapper (rather elegantly) used, turned the traditional references to eloquence and style on their head and poignantly rejected the rhetorical paradigm for the writing of his book. Dapper explicitly refused to use “çierlijk opgetoide woorden”, citing Cicero in favour of “rem opinor spectari debere, non verba” (“For, in my opinion, regard should be had to the thing, not to words”).¹³³

¹³¹ See Eddy Verbaan, ‘Jan Janszoon Orlers schetst Leiden’.

¹³² Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Opdracht, p. 4v.

¹³³ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Opdracht, p. 6. Translation: C.D. Younge, Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Liber V, XI, New York 1877, p. 175.

“Naekte en eenvoudige waerheit”—naked and simple truth—was his motto—not the recourse to classical conventions expected in the writing of history at his time. This rejection of what has been labelled ‘rhetorical history’ included a rejection of the use of classical historical example to morally educate the reader. Even more explicitly than Pontanus’ text, Dapper’s *Historische Beschryving* was a patriotic enterprise designed both as a survey of its current grandeur and as a commemorative text through which its inhabitants might remember the valiant deeds of their fathers in the recent patriotic wars: these wars were recalled in the *Dedication* together with the good service of Amsterdam’s magistrates for the common wealth of the city.¹³⁴ The topic of patriotic duty is introduced here. Scipio and Hannibal, Leonidas and Metius Curtius were invoked as heroic exemplars for the sacrifices they made for their fatherland. However, they never appeared in the text itself, and were introduced merely as rhetorical devices to demonstrate the classical education and learnedness of the author. With his emphasis on the “simple truth”, Dapper positioned himself firmly in the antiquarian camp. With his focus on Amsterdam’s more recent past, which he wanted to narrate, and particularly with his emphasis on wars and military achievements, he again encroached on the territory of the historian.

The martial theme introduced in the dedication is echoed quite extensively, as will be shown later, in Dapper’s appraisal of Amsterdam’s great naval heroes, who were part of his gallery of eminent men of the city. In 1663, the Dutch Republic found itself between the wars. While the memory of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) was still very much alive, the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664–1667) was already looming on the horizon. By reminding his readers of the achievements of their fathers and earlier generations Dapper certainly also had a very present-centred agenda, namely to prepare them for their own sacrifice in the coming conflict.

Methodologically, Dapper has thus partly stepped out of Pontanus’ footsteps. While references to the key texts of humanist rhetorical history were still part of the stylistic repertoire deployed for his educated readers, the demands of the writing of history were no longer focused on exemplary stories which educated, but on expressing the

¹³⁴ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Opdracht, p. 4.

desire to commemorate specific events in the city's past for what they were, rather than drawing out their wider moral significance. With his reference to an existing corpus of texts on Amsterdam to which he wanted to add his own interpretation, Dapper also created a tradition of Amsterdam's chorographical works on which he and later authors could rely for their own studies. The reference to Rome still appeared as an example of a city which had been studied by numerous authors (without their having exhausted its fascination), but it was used here merely as a rhetorical device in the dedication.¹³⁵ Moreover, an explicit rejection of Ciceronian style was not part of Pontanus' programme, although in practice he had also transgressed the requirements of eloquence and unity of style with his digressions, discussions and source-critique.

In terms of the structure and the themes covered in the book, however, Dapper closely followed Pontanus' model. In the first twenty-two pages of the text he discussed the origin of the Hollanders in general, and of the Amsterdammers in particular. Like Pontanus, Dapper's main source is Tacitus, but unlike Pontanus, he sided with Philip Cluverius' interpretation of the classical story. According to this version, the Batavians were immigrants from Hesse, and thus Chatti, rather than Gallic Menapiers. This shift from French to Germanic origins was perhaps a reflection of an increasing uneasiness in the Dutch Republic vis-à-vis their expansionist southern neighbour. It also responded to the debate on the legal relationship of the United Provinces to the Holy Roman Empire led by Herman Conring.¹³⁶

The story of two "arme Visschers" as the founding fathers of Amsterdam was also re-told here, but Dapper suggested that they might not have been the first settlers at this place: both the location itself and its wealth of fish were seen as incentives for earlier, unrecorded settlements.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, Opdracht, p. 3.

¹³⁶ See Herman Kampina, *De Opvatting over onze oudere vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, pp. 130ff. For the political relations between the Dutch Republic and the Holy Roman Empire see Johannes Arndt, *Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Niederlande 1566 bis 1648. Politisch-konfessionelle Verflechtungen und Publizistik im 80-jährigen Krieg*, Cologne (Böhlau) 1998, esp. pp. 85f and Helmut Gabel, Volker Jarren, *Kaufleute und Fürsten. Außenpolitik und politisch-kulturelle Perzeption im Spiegel niederländisch-deutscher Beziehungen 1648–1748*, Münster (Waxmann) 1998, pp. 447f.

¹³⁷ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 43.

Dapper adapted and extended the inclusion of an intellectual history and topography of the city which Pontanus had introduced into chorographical studies. In his description of Amsterdam's most prominent places, Dapper followed Pontanus' strategy, beginning with the dissolution of the monasteries after 1578. In contrast to his predecessor, however, he did not enter into theological arguments on the role and relevance of monasticism in general that Pontanus had found necessary to present in his work. Instead, he placed the seizure of monastic houses and nunneries, and the expulsion of their inhabitants, in a political context, and constructed a historical line from earlier infringements of the magistrates' powers by the Burgundian advocates of monastic orders dating back to the fifteenth century. Like Pontanus, Dapper thus saw the events of 1578 as the natural and long-overdue response of the city to the unwanted presence of monks and nuns in Amsterdam. In this interpretation, monasticism was seen as an aberration *per se* and a sign of papist "schijnheiligheid" (falseness) whose very nature and error needed no further discussion.¹³⁸ A theological debate about the nature of monasticism was no longer necessary; the error of this way of life was common knowledge to Dapper's readers.

In his topographical survey of Amsterdam, Dapper departed from Pontanus' preference for religious over secular buildings. After the discussion of the dissolution of the monasteries, he immediately introduced the Town Hall as Amsterdam's most spectacular building; only some fifty pages later did he mention the city's main churches.¹³⁹ This and the observations which follow regarding Dapper's representation of the city's intellectual life give a strong indication of the shifting parameters of the two traditional categories of religious and civic history in his book and also, it will be shown, in subsequent texts in praise of Amsterdam. All later chorographies took the Town Hall as the starting point of their fictitious 'guided tour', thus emphasizing the civic over the religious buildings in the city and consolidating a 'multi-cultural' image of Amsterdam which would obscure Calvinist dominance in the city. The intellectual and cultural world of Amsterdam that Dapper described had changed since Pontanus' time. The

¹³⁸ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 322, 323, 333.

¹³⁹ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 328–377. On the iconographic programme of the Town Hall see, for instance, Koen Ottenheym, 'Amsterdam: Stadhuis. De Vrede van Munster architectonisch verbeeld', in: Maarten Prak (ed.), *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam (Bert Bakker) 2006, pp. 251–261.

Batavians as the cultural and intellectual forefathers of Amsterdam's greatest sons have disappeared from his description. Their characteristic features as a freedom-loving, honest and valiant tribe were apparently no longer needed as role models and venerated ancestors for Dapper's Amsterdammers. Dapper had also very little to say about the pre-Erasmian intellectuals of his city. Here he merely repeated Pontanus' examples.¹⁴⁰ More important than medieval theologians with a crypto-Calvinist creed were now the poets and philologists of Dapper's immediate past and present. He devoted a long chapter to the *Schouwburg* theatre, which in 1638 opened its doors for productions of the works of Spiegel, Dirk Coornhert, Roemer Visscher, Joost van den Vondel and P.C. Hooft.¹⁴¹ These authors were emphatically praised for their contributions to the propagation of the Dutch language: Visscher was "de rechte Duytsche Martiael", Hooft "der Hollandtsche Homer".¹⁴² Dapper also mentioned eminent scientists and doctors such as Peter Paauw and Sebastian Egbertszon, who publicly practised in Amsterdam's Anatomical Theatre, first opened in 1619. Prominent centres of learning and culture now included the new Botanical Garden—Amsterdam's answer to the world-famous garden at Leiden University—, the city's Illustrious School, the so-called *Atheneaeum Illustre*, which opened in 1631 and attracted eminent professors such as Gerard Vossius and Kaspar van Baerle, recently expelled from Leiden University for his Remonstrant tendencies. In the seventeenth century, Illustrious Schools became the new academic flagships of the Dutch Republic.¹⁴³ No fewer than eighteen towns and cities in the Republic established these institutions. Their status was similar to that of the five universities in the country, but they were not allowed to award doctorates. The curriculum, however, was often markedly different from that of the older academies: the focus was on the study of applied sciences such as mathematics, engineering, naviga-

¹⁴⁰ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 537.

¹⁴¹ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 440–443. Together with The Hague's theatre, the Schouwburg remained the only theatre in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. For a discussion of the rhetoricians and their contribution to the use of Dutch in Literature see, for instance, Marijke Spies, 'Rhetoric and Civic Harmony in the Dutch Republic of the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century' in: Peter L. Oesterreich, Thomas O. Sloane (eds.), *Rhetorica Movet*.

¹⁴² Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 51, 54.

¹⁴³ For further details, see Karel Davids, 'Scientific and Useful Knowledge: Amsterdam', in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 305–325.

tion, medicine and botany—subjects which appealed to the new civic elite in the Netherlands and their interest in maritime enterprises and natural sciences. In Amsterdam's *Athenaeum*, lectures in mathematics and navigation were given in Dutch rather than in Latin from 1635.¹⁴⁴ This emphasis on new and different centres of learning reflected the image of itself that the Dutch Republic preferred to present: pragmatic, problem-solving and modern, where careers were based on new and useful knowledge rather than on genealogy and (academic) elitism. In this context, Dapper also echoed Pontanus' ideal of the *mercator sapiens*, epitomized in Pontanus' reference to Spiegel and his work. Dapper made detailed references to van Baerle's inaugural address at the Illustrious School, which was published with the same title, *Mercator Sapiens*, first in Latin, and in 1641 in Dutch, and in which the author drafted the image of the ideal humanist, a man who could combine his quest for knowledge with his working life.¹⁴⁵

In the light of the continuous conflicts between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, theologians as role models were now no longer useful in the creation of a consensus among Amsterdam's literate elite. This rejection of a confessional argument also reflected Amsterdam's new image as a tolerant, multi-confessional city, an image which Dapper supported and which will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter. In place of Pontanus' learned Protestant intellectual another character appeared, one which was quickly used, in different media, to represent the ideal Dutchman: Dapper's list of Amsterdam's greatest sons included the famous naval heroes of the Anglo-Dutch wars and notable captains of the East India fleet. The deeds of Jacob van Heemskerck, Jakob van Nek, Jacob Willekens, Jakob de Rijk, Dirk Duyvel and others were praised; memorial plaques dedicated to naval heroes

¹⁴⁴ Initiatives to introduce Dutch as the language of the sciences predate the establishment of the *Athenaeum*. As early as 1600 Simon Stevin lectured engineers at Leiden University in Dutch. See Marijke van der Wal, *De moedertaal central. Standardisatie-aspecten in de Nederlanden omstreeks 1650*, The Hague (Sdu), 1995, p. 81.

¹⁴⁵ Casparis Barlaei, *Mercator Sapiens. De conjungendis Mercaturae & Philosophiae Studies Habita. In Inaugurationem Illustris Amstelodaemensium Scholae 1632*, Amsterdam 1632. The Dutch translation appeared in three editions soon afterwards: *Vers-tandighe coopman, of oratie handelnde van den t'samen-voeginghe des Koop-handels ende der philosophie*, Enkhuyzen 1641, Nachdruck 1662 und 1689. See: S. van der Woude, Introduction to the new translation, Amsterdam 1967. See also, in comparison, Dirk Volkertsz Coornhert, *De Koopman*, Amsterdam 1630. On the *Athenaeum* see E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier, C.L. Heesakkers, P.J. Knegtman et al. (eds.), *Athenaeum Illustre. Elf studies over de Amsterdamse Doorluchtige School*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 1997.

in both the *Oude* and the *Nieuwe Kerk* were described in great detail alongside dedicatory poems and mottos.¹⁴⁶ It might be argued that this change might have been the consequence of the different careers of Pontanus and Dapper. Pontanus' preference for what might be labelled 'traditional' intellectuals might reflect his own intellectual horizon as an academic living in Harderwijk, while the Amsterdamer Dapper had a much closer link to the more diverse intellectual and cultural world of his city. However, even if the criteria for what constituted greatness were different in Pontanus' and Dapper's personal rankings, they nevertheless underline the changes in the agenda of Amsterdam's intellectual life which had come about in the fifty years between Pontanus' and Dapper's books. Urban (as well as national) identity was now no longer reconstructed with reference to the former overlords and their cultural and intellectual world—Protestantism versus Catholicism. Men of action, as well as 'new' scientists, overshadowed the traditional canon of theologians and academics inhabiting Pontanus' and earlier galleries of eminent men.¹⁴⁷ As already suggested, on the eve of the Second Anglo-Dutch War an emphasis on Dutch naval heroes certainly also served an eminently present-centred purpose by reminding the readers of the martial spirit and achievements of the Dutch at sea.

THE DUTCH REVOLT REVISITED

In contrast to Pontanus' version, Dapper's account of the Dutch Revolt focused on events in Amsterdam itself. He outlined in great detail the rules and orders established in 1566 to regulate the coexistence of Protestants and Catholics within the city walls, a theme that would fit in well with his presentation of Amsterdam as a city whose prosperity

¹⁴⁶ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 542f, 379–386. For a discussion of Dutch naval heroes in contemporary media see Raingard Esser, 'Lo "Stadhouder" e il suo ammiraglio Eroi di Guerra nella letteratura olandese del XVII secolo', in: Claudio Donati, Bernhard R Kroener (eds.), *Militari e società civile nell' Europa dell' età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, Bologna (Molino) 2007, pp. 681–703.

¹⁴⁷ Early glimpses of the cult of the great Dutch admirals which became prominent in Dutch public memory can be detected in Pontanus, who presented the inscription dedicated to Jacob van Heemskerks in his book and praised the merits of the man in the battle against the Spanish fleet off Gibraltar in 1607 (Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinge*, pp. 271–273). It might also be argued that he introduced these archetypal Dutch heroes in his section on Dutch overseas exploration. Many of the men involved in these enterprises became admirals in the Dutch navy.

was based on tolerance. This early phase of the conflict was discussed in great detail and with dramatic elements and rhetorical devices such as indirect speech and the personal life stories of Amsterdam families torn apart by the Revolt.¹⁴⁸

With the arrival of Count Bossu's government in August 1572 and the ensuing tightening grip of the war on the city, Amsterdam eventually received its 'fair share' of atrocities. This episode, which focused on the establishment of the *Raad van Beroerten*, described in great detail the courts and the tribunals set up to try dissenters. The marginalia *Schrikkelijk Vervolgh* leads to a long description of Spanish atrocities against Dutch civilians which Dapper had copied with slight amendments from P.C. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historiën*:

't Ging dan aen elken kant, op eenen vangen en spannen van mannen en vrouwen, von hooge en lage, jonge en oude perzoonen. De galgen hingen gerist, de raden, de staken, de boomen aen de wegen stonden verladen met lijken gewurght, onthalst, en gebarnt. Elke dagh had zijn deerlijkheit, en 't bassen der bloedt-klokke, dat, met de doodt van nae-maegh den eenen, van zwager, oft vriendt den andere, in 't hart klonk. Aen't bannen, aen't verbeurt-maken der goederen, was geen eindt. [Everywhere men and women were arrested, nobles and commoners, old and young. The gallows were full, the wheels, the stakes, the trees along the wayside were laden with corpses of the strangled, decapitated and burnt. Every day was full of misery and the ringing of the blood-bell that announced to one the death of a close relative, to another the death of a brother-in-law or some friend, struck a chord in every heart. There was no end in banishments and confiscations.]¹⁴⁹

Amsterdam was not spared these atrocities, and Dapper provided a long list of citizens who had been executed or murdered under Bossu's regime. He was particularly appalled by the Spanish practice of exhuming the dead and reburying the corpses in unhallowed ground under the gallows—a procedure that he described in great detail.¹⁵⁰ This version of events was again, it might be argued, slightly economical with the truth. Bossu's troops had left Amsterdam soon after the siege, and the

¹⁴⁸ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 176–186. It might be argued that Dapper digressed here from his initial pledge to refrain from the tools of rhetoric in his text. P.C. Hooft's original text is printed in *ibid.*, *Nederlandsche Historien*, Book 4, p. 165.

¹⁴⁹ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 200. For Hooft's original see P.C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historiën, sedert de ooverdraght der heerschappye van Kaizar Karel den vijfden, op koning Philips zynen zoon*, Amsterdam 1642–1647, repr. Amsterdam (Wetstein & Sceperus) 1703, p. 165.

¹⁵⁰ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 202.

defence of the city remained in the hands of the *burgomasters*—against the advice of Bossu. Dapper thus played down the active collaboration of Amsterdam’s elite with the Spanish government. Moreover, Amsterdam’s *burgomasters* were able to negotiate a good deal with the Spanish authorities: the city’s jurisdiction was extended to 400 *roeden*, approximately 1.5 km, outside the city walls. The last ‘heretics’ were burned in September 1572—three men, two Anabaptists and one (possible) Calvinist.¹⁵¹

By contrast, Dapper’s descriptions of the later events of the war were much more detached and factual. Although he still mentioned key events such as the siege of Haarlem or the capture of Enkhui-zen by the *Sea Beggars*, these remained remote and were only used to explain the strategies of the respective leaders.¹⁵² In the 1660s a detailed account of the dramatic events of the war no longer seemed necessary to create a sense of urban or Dutch identity. At this stage, the Republic knew exactly what it wanted to be, and Amsterdam had firmly established its leading role in politics and in the economy. However, Dapper still needed to allude to these iconic events. His account of the Revolt ended with the arrival of the Earl of Leicester in 1587. Later developments were not presented, although Dapper extended his chronology to 1650 in other parts of the book. For him, as for Pontanus, the war was very much a defensive war undertaken by the cities and towns against a seemingly overwhelming and ruthless enemy. The story of the war also remained, as we have seen, focused on the first decade of the conflict. Later events, such as the sieges of ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1629, of Maastricht in 1632 or of Breda in 1637, could have been presented as heroic victories of the Dutch forces, and used to praise Dutch military qualities. These campaigns did not take place in Amsterdam or in the vicinity, nor even in Holland. It might be argued, that this was the reason why Dapper did not cover them in his story, but neither did the earlier sieges of Haarlem or Leiden take place in Amsterdam’s hinterland. There are other and more convincing reasons for the emphasis he laid on the first decade of the Revolt: The early phase of the war could be much better marketed as a civic enterprise in which the towns and their inhabitants played a heroic

¹⁵¹ See Henk van Nierop, *Het foute Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 2000; *ibid.*, “‘Confessional Cleansing’ Why Amsterdam did not join the Revolt (1572–1578)”.

¹⁵² Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, pp. 214–215.

part in reclaiming Dutch freedom. Sieges by the experienced and battle-hardened armies of Maurice or Frederick Henry of Nassau, made up in large part of foreigners and often under foreign command, did not leave enough room for the glorification of the Dutch men and women whom Dapper wanted to reach with his publication. In this respect, however, Dapper might have failed to live up to the expectation raised in his introduction. In spite of promising an account of the heroic deeds of the Amsterdamers, he did not include the recent First Anglo-Dutch War in his narrative. Although he had limited his chronology to the year 1650, an inclusion of the great naval battles of 1652–54 would have allowed him room to highlight the valiant character of his fellow-citizens which he wanted to bring out. Even earlier episodes, such as Piet Heyn's spectacular raid on the Spanish silver fleet in 1628, might have supported this aim: Dapper could have tapped into a rich mine of sources already published on the Dutch admirals and their exploits at sea.¹⁵³

In terms of presentation and style, the historical narrative remained firmly focused on the Dutch Revolt. Later events covered in this part of the book, such as the entry of Maria de Medici into Amsterdam, were presented as a description of the festivities, pageants and laudatory speeches, while the clash between the city and William II in 1650 was predominantly a collection of letters and documents reproduced in order to chart the negotiations between Amsterdam's regents and the prince.

RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND IMMIGRANTS IN THE CITY

Dapper's Amsterdam was a city which was confident enough to acknowledge and to give credit to its immigrant minorities and to their religious diversity.

Amsterdam was now presented as a *Migrantenstad*, the secret of whose success lay in its tolerance of religious and confessional non-conformists.¹⁵⁴ Benjamin Kaplan has recently outlined the construction

¹⁵³ See, for instance, *Klaegh-liedt op de dood van... M.H. Tromp, Ridder, L. Admiraal van Hollandt/ mitsgaders het hart Zee-gevecht... tusschen de Hollandtse einde Engelsche vloot, omtrent Catwijck op Zee... August 1653*, Haarlem 1653; *Afbeelding in wat manier de silver vloot van den Generael Pieter Pietersen Heyn veroovert is*, Anno 1628, Amsterdam 1629.

¹⁵⁴ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 401.

of religious tolerance, or rather freedom of conscience, as an ancient custom in the Netherlands, and the use of this idea by some authors in the Republic.¹⁵⁵ This image of an ancient tradition of freedom of conscience which was, it was argued by protagonists such as Hugo Grotius in his *Liber de Antiquitate Reipublicae Bataviae* (1610), already embedded in the character of the Batavian people, and was thus part of the nature of the Dutch, became particularly useful for the Amsterdam magistrates, who, as international merchants, generally favoured a multi-confessional society (albeit dominated by official Calvinism).¹⁵⁶ Migrants in the city who were presented in Dapper's topography appeared as members of the various minority churches visited in the fictitious guided tour which followed Dapper's survey of Calvinist churches in the city. First and foremost, he mentioned the French church, represented in a double-paged engraving (between pages 398 and 399) and designed by Amsterdam's city architect Hendrick de Keyser. The description of its ornate exterior and interior was followed by a survey of the English church, also represented by a double-paged engraving between pages 400 and 401. Equal prominence was given to the Lutheran church, which was associated with Scandinavian, and in particular, Danish, worshippers (of which, the reader was told, there were many in the city).¹⁵⁷ The Jewish community was covered somewhat more briefly and without images, but reference was made to their schools and their right to worship in the city. In a similar way, Dapper also covered the "Roomsgezinden", the city's Catholics. He emphasized that they had greater freedoms in Amsterdam than elsewhere in Holland, and that they had a right to worship, although no dedicated space in which to do so.¹⁵⁸ Other minority churches such as the "Doopsgezinden", the Mennonites, were only mentioned in passing. Multi-confessional life in the city was thus presented as a success story. Outsiders were members of minority churches; they were organized and supported in terms of their spiritual and social needs.

¹⁵⁵ Kaplan, '“Dutch” religious tolerance’.

¹⁵⁶ Kaplan cites in this context a remark from 1594 by the then *burgomaster* of Amsterdam Cornelis Pieterszoon Hooft, in which he declared that religious tolerance was part of the “ancient manner of governing this land”. Kaplan, ‘“Dutch” religious tolerance’, p. 11. Tolerance, however, in the early modern sense, meant exactly what Hooft outlined here: that people “bear with each other’s mistakes in matters of faith”.

¹⁵⁷ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 401.

¹⁵⁸ Dapper, *Historische Beschryving*, p. 401.

This presentation of migrants and minorities in the city in terms of a corporation corresponds to and confirms recent discussions on Dutch policy vis-à-vis immigrants and non-Calvinists. As Douglas Catterall has convincingly argued, “the adaptation of corporate thinking has made it possible for the Republic to deal with disparate migrant flows whose mixtures of refugees and economic migrants with a distinct religious profile...could be quite complex.”¹⁵⁹ Although Catterall’s extension of his observations to the whole of the Dutch Republic oversimplifies and, to some extent, distorts, the developments in towns and cities outside the western economic heartland of the United Provinces, the way immigrants and minorities are presented in Dapper’s survey of Amsterdam certainly supports his argument.¹⁶⁰ Immigrants were viewed as an integral part of the life of the city and as an asset rather than a burden or a source of discord.¹⁶¹ However, in Dapper’s reading of Amsterdam’s minorities, some immigrants were more welcome than others. It has been argued that Southern Netherlanders, who fled the Spanish Netherlanders as Calvinists, were regarded in the Dutch Republic with suspicion and as potential extremists.¹⁶² This group did not feature at all in Dapper’s survey of the city’s immigrants. Whether he did not feel the need to discuss those who became members of the Calvinist Churches, or joined the French Church if they came from the francophone parts of the Netherlands, is not clear. That they stood out in the Northern Netherlands, not least by their accents and dress,

¹⁵⁹ Douglas W. Catterall, ‘Scots and Portuguese migrants in the United Provinces (16th–17th centuries)’, in: Susanne Lachenicht (ed.), *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America*, Hamburg (Lit-Verlag) 2007, pp. 53–80, here p. 54.

¹⁶⁰ For different policies towards non-Calvinists in some eastern towns and cities of the Dutch Republic see Maarten Prak, ‘The politics of intolerance: citizenship and religion in the Dutch Republic (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)’, in: Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2002, pp. 159–176.

¹⁶¹ This acknowledgement of the existence of visible confessional minorities in the city and their contribution to Amsterdam’s economy also corresponds with Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia’s phased model of religious toleration in the Netherlands, where the period between 1620 and 1700 is characterized by a pragmatic and successful model of pluriconfessional society “where a strong civil authority, especially in Holland, kept the peace between a hegemonic Reformed Church and the other religious communities”. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, ‘Introduction’, in: *ibid.*, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, p. 5.

¹⁶² Benjamin Kaplan, ‘“Dutch” religious tolerance: celebration and revision’.

and that distinct attributes were attached to their presence in the cities, is, however, clear from other media.¹⁶³

CASPAR COMMELIN

The last great chorographical project on Amsterdam in the seventeenth century was Caspar Commelin's voluminous publication *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam* of 1693.¹⁶⁴ Commelin's family had a flourishing printing and publishing business in the city, which Caspar inherited from his father Isaac. With his father he also shared an interest in the history of the city. Caspar's status within Amsterdam's urban elite was confirmed by his position as a regent of one of the larger charitable institutions for the elderly poor, the *Oude Zijds Huiszittenhuis*. Other prominent members of the family included Caspar's brother, Johannes alias Jan, and Jan's son Caspar, who were both famous botanists with a keen interest in, among other things, the city's botanical garden. Not surprisingly, this family interest was also highlighted in Commelin's publication on Amsterdam.

In many respects, Commelin's compilation marked the end of the chorographical tradition inaugurated by Pontanus. His book included similarities, but also significant differences to the earlier works and pointed more towards the antiquarian tradition of the eighteenth century than to the combination of history and topography presented by his predecessors, and which had stimulated and informed intellectual debate about the writings of the past. It can be argued that his work did not contribute anything significantly new to the image of the city. Neither did it develop or even adopt a more sophisticated theoretical and methodological framework for its presentation of Amsterdam's past and present. The nature of the book itself as a compilation and re-edition of earlier works, with some up-dating by the publisher, can

¹⁶³ Judith Pollmann, "Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all", *Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years' Truce*, in: ead., Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities*, chapter 11. See also Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom, Peter Stabel, 'Foreign merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam c. 1350–1650', in: Donatella Calabi, Stephan Turck Christensen (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2007, pp. 154–174.

¹⁶⁴ Caspar Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (Aart Dircksz Oossaen) 1693.

be seen as an indicator of the fact that the image of the city was now complete and would not change—not, in fact, one might argue, until the twenty-first century. The grand narratives were known; a kind of frame of memory had been developed. Chronological and thematic landmarks were by now canonical. What Commelin did was to re-organize the different pieces of the jigsaw that was Amsterdam's history and topography and to add the missing thirty years between his work and the last major publication on the topic. In this respect, Commelin's book did not create a tradition and a history, so much as referred to an already existing tradition for reading Amsterdam's past. This was, again, done in a multi-media format. More than in any other publication on Amsterdam, the reader was presented with images depicting other media and forms of commemoration. This is particularly evident in the display of the tombs of Dutch naval heroes, which were discussed in great detail. Here, Commelin already expected that his readers knew about the historical importance of these men: the images depicted how they were commemorated in public spaces, not the fact that they were commemorated or what they were commemorated for. This framework can also be applied to the frequent use of contemporary poems and dramas on historical events which were particularly prominent in the passages covering the medieval period of the city and the surrounding country. Again, it was expected that the reader was familiar with what happened; and that he or she was now presented with the commemorative traditions established around these events. In this respect, Commelin's book was even more about contemporary Amsterdam than about its past. This is also the case in his fictitious tour of the city's landmarks.

PROGRAMME AND ICONOGRAPHY

While the iconographic *carte de visite* of the book, the frontispiece, has already been discussed, a closer look at Commelin's introduction will further demonstrate the tendency to reproduce, rather than to re-create, an urban narrative and topography which is characteristic of his work.

His text was partly a reprint of an earlier study, namely Tobias van Domselaer's *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt de huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant*, a compendium originally published in the city in 1665. Commelin's book, of more

than 1,200 pages, also included reprints of the works of Arnoldus Montanus, Olfert Dapper, and a brief study of Amsterdam's extensions by Commelin's father Isaac Commelin.¹⁶⁵ Commelin also reprinted van Domselaer's introduction, which offered a comprehensive survey of texts written in praise of the city and an overview of the city maps produced in the previous hundred years or so. Van Domselaer's choice of the sources which he declared to be relevant or otherwise for the history of Amsterdam gives a good insight into the changing historiographical conventions of the time. It also further highlights the emphasis on a tradition of the use of indigenous, Dutch texts to present Amsterdam's past and present. Van Domselaer's survey included a summative, sharp critique of the classical authorities cited and discussed by earlier chorographers. The familiar humanist canon of the classical texts of Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Caesar, Suetonius and Cassius Dio was dismissed as a collection by foreign authors with a foreign agenda, who were therefore unreliable and even misleading as sources for Amsterdam's, or Holland's, past. Moreover, those authors' interpretations had been proven to be controversial and even downright wrong: a harsh verdict indeed on the classical literary giants of humanism. They were no longer relevant for a discussion of the city, which could now rely on its own indigenous historiographical genealogy. An alternative criterion of reliability was now eye-witness evidence. In this context, Melis Stoke's *Rijmkronik van Hollandt* became particularly relevant for the medieval history of Holland. The book, which covered the history of the Counts of Holland until the early fourteenth century, was praised as the most authentic indigenous account of the past. Stoke had been clerk at Holland's court and had been intimately familiar with the sources preserved in the county's main archive, Egmond Abbey. In Commelin's time, a number of editions of Stoke's work had already been published.¹⁶⁶ The emphasis on eye-witnesses and

¹⁶⁵ I have used the edition kept in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Arnoldus Montanus, *Beschryvinge der eerste Inwooners van Amstellant enz*, Amsterdam (Doornik) 1664; Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt de huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant, enz.*, Amsterdam (Doornik) 1665, therein: Isaac Commelin, *Van der bemuuring en oude hoedanigheyt der stadt Amsterdam, meet haar kloosters, tot den jare 1585* and *ibid.*, *Van alle de stats oude en nieuwe gebouwen*.

¹⁶⁶ A first edition was brought onto the market by Janus Dousa in 1591. Another edition was produced by Petrus Scriverius in 1663. On the *Rijmkroniek* see J.W.J. Burgers, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland en zijn auteurs. Historiografie in Holland door*

native authors writing in the chronological vicinity to the events had become an intellectual programme that William Camden had already propagated in the prefatory essay to his *Britannia* and which he called 'Synchronism'.¹⁶⁷ It entailed the preference for sources as close as possible to the events described and enabled comparisons with similar documents, thus allowing the matching of events with a reliable chronology. The strategy was applied by Commelin with reference to medieval Dutch authors and was complemented by references to original sources frequently cited. More important are the more recent texts on the topic, which were cited. They include the works of Pontanus as well as of Melchior Fokkens and Isaac Commelin. The search for timeless, exemplary stories, or even highlights in a city's past, which could educate and enlighten the reader was now completely replaced by the search for accuracy and detail.

Caspar Commelin did not comment on van Domselaer's selection, but pointed out that he himself had added some pieces of research that he had done in the archives of some of the churches of the city. He had also received, the reader was informed, some documents on the house of Amstel from the former *burgomaster* of Utrecht—a collection which had been put together by Utrecht's antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius. In his own introduction, which is printed after van Domselaer's text, Commelin explained at great length to the reader his programme and his additions and amendments both in the written text and in the prints, which, he claimed, were all new and had not been seen before.¹⁶⁸ Novelty in the presentation of images, as well as an all-inclusive coverage of Amsterdam's past, were the aims of his work. The narrative part of the book was carefully updated to 1691. This was done by Commelin himself, although he admitted that for this part he had borrowed extensively from Lieuwe Aitzema.¹⁶⁹ The key events of Amsterdam's story as presented by both Pontanus and Dapper have disappeared in this survey, which aimed to give every aspect of Amsterdam's history equal weight. The master-narrative of the city's rise to greatness, an economic or a patriotic success-story

de Anonymus (1280–1282) en de grafelijke klerk Melis Stoke (begin veertiende eeuw), Hilversum (Verloren) 1999.

¹⁶⁷ Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, chapter 1.

¹⁶⁸ See subtitle of his heading: "...en met kopere Afbeeldingen verciert, nooit voor desen gedrukt geweest...".

¹⁶⁹ Lieuwe Aitzema, *Historien onses tyds behelzende saken van staat en oorlogh*, Amsterdam (Jan ten Horn, Jan Bouman) 1685.

seemed no longer on the chorographer's agenda: Amsterdam's role and position was unquestioned and unchallenged. Quantity of detail rather than quality and perspective was Commelin's aim, paired with a claim of authenticity and historical 'truth'.

If anything, the present-centred agenda presented here displays a strong anti-French sentiment in which Amsterdam was held up as a counter-image to the intolerant, absolutist enemy, with whom the Republic was then at war. French expansionist policy was the theme of the updated narrative section and French intolerance appeared at various points in the text both in the description of Amsterdam's urban space and in its history.

Stylistically, the book was rather mixed, with the inclusion of literary texts in the form of drama, such as P.C. Hooft's *Geerard van Velzen*, of which some verses were included,¹⁷⁰ poems of Joost van den Vondel, as well as genealogical tables, transcriptions of documents and reprints of coins and heraldic images, which were discussed in great detail.¹⁷¹ With its emphasis on detail and its coverage of numismatic and heraldic topics, the book bears the hallmark of an antiquarian text of the eighteenth century. It also relied heavily on footnotes, in which Commelin made reference to other sources and commented on the texts in question.

The book was lavishly illustrated, with the greatest frequency of images again in the fictitious tour around Amsterdam, which was presented in Book IV and based on the text of Isaac Commelin. It was here that images of interiors also appeared for the first time. They did not, however, include detailed descriptions of the Town Hall, but largely focused on the tombs of the great admirals (and one Field Marshall) of the Republic in the *Oude Kerk*. These are: Paulus Wirtz, *Velt-Maerschalk vande Vereenigde Nederlanden* and Willem vander Zaan, *Schout-by Naght van Ed. Mog. Collegie ter Admiraliteit 't Amsterdam*. Images of commemorative plaques and tomb stones were clustered between pages 422 and 423, with two smaller images of the tombs of Jacob van Heemskerk and Kornelis Janszoon "Haentje" included on pages 432 and 433 respectively. Isaac Sweerius and Abraham van der

¹⁷⁰ P.C. Hooft, *Geerard van Velzen, met de dood van Graaf Floris van Hollandt*, Amsterdam (Blaeu) 1662.

¹⁷¹ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 178–183, a discussion of Amsterdam's city seals. He also included a list of the changing currencies and their values from the time of Emperor Maximilian to 1646 on p. 527.

Hulst were added to this illustrious iconography between page 436 and page 437. The engravings were accompanied by copies of the texts and various poems written in praise of these great men. The description of the *Nieuwe Kerk* included a small engraving of the tomb of Jan van Galen on page 449 and a full-page image of the grandiose tomb monument of Michiel de Ruyter between pages 456 and 457.

Five maps of the city were included, of which two were specifically referred to in the introduction, namely the map of Christophel Harthoghvelt (already mentioned by van Domselaer) and the well-known map of 1536 by Cornelis Anthoniszoon, which adorned the city's Treasury Hall.¹⁷²

THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

Commelin's topographical description is arguably the most prominent part of the book. It contains many eye-catching, double-paged engravings whose novelty is highlighted in the introduction. This part was obviously seen as the selling point of the publication. The chapter, which was a reprint of Isaac Commelin's work, began no longer with a discussion of the dissolution of the monastic houses and their replacement by civic charitable institutions, but with the successive extensions to the city's limits. Here again it is notable that both Commelin senior and junior used other media of commemoration and memory to convey a distinct picture of Amsterdam. This is particularly striking in their extensive coverage of the tombs of Holland's great admirals. Commelin was responding to an upsurge in interest in naval biography in the Netherlands, fuelled particularly by the death of the popular Admiral Michiel de Ruyter in 1677.¹⁷³ De Ruyter had been honoured in Amsterdam with a spectacular funeral and a grandiose marble tomb monument erected on what used to be the main (Catholic) altar of the

¹⁷² Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 2v. Van Domselaer also mentioned Stalpaart's map of 1342, which had been reproduced by Nicholas Visscher in 1665.

¹⁷³ Texts in praise of de Ruyter include Lambert van den Bos, *Leven en Daden der Doorluchtigste Zee-Helden en Ontdeckers van Landen deser Eeuwen*, Amsterdam (Wolfgang) 1676; Gerard Brandt, *Het Leven en Bedrijf van den Heere Michiel de Ruyter, Hertog, ridder &c. L. Admiraal Generaal van Holland en Westfriesland*, Amsterdam (Wolfgang) 1687; *Lijkreden, Eerdichten, en Graf-schriften... over de beroemde daaden en doodt van Michael de Ruyter*, Amsterdam (Wolfgang) 1688. See also Willem P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van den pamflettenverzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols., The Hague 1889–1920, No. 7195, 7408, 7432, 7433, 7510.

Nieuwe Kerk. The cult of the admirals, which found its expression in funeral architecture, paintings, biographical literature, songs, poems and prints, was also prominently developed in Commelin's book. No fewer than seven pages were devoted to a detailed description of the funeral procession for de Ruyter and of his tomb.¹⁷⁴ The episode also included reprints of the laudatory poems written for the occasion and the texts of the plaques attached to the monument. This description was probably lifted from the most popular biography of the deceased hero by Gerard Brandt, whose massive *Leven en Bedrijf van den Heere Michiel de Ruyter, Hertog, ridder &c. L. Admiraal Generaal van Holland en Westfriesland* had been published in Amsterdam in 1687.¹⁷⁵ Although the narrative of the three Anglo-Dutch wars and the achievements of the Dutch admirals in these conflicts were presented in Book VI, the most striking image of these national heroes was created through the reproduction of their tombs. Even more than in Dapper's text, the cult of the admirals presented by Commelin replaced the coverage of voyages of exploration in Pontanus' work. Both genres, military biography and early travel narrative, served the same purpose: the glorification of Dutch achievements at sea. Both were used to display Dutch character, both used dramatic stories and eye-catching images to capture the imagination of their readers. While in 1693 the expansionist phase of Dutch overseas trade had long since come to a halt, naval victories in the three Anglo-Dutch wars and other naval conflicts were still very much alive in popular memory, and were celebrated in various forms in the western cities of the Dutch Republic. Moreover, the strong emphasis on these national heroes, many of whom were, like Michiel de Ruyter, not native sons of Amsterdam, reflects the perceived relationship of the city to the rest of the Republic. The presence of these monuments in the city's main churches rather than at the admirals' birthplaces highlights Amsterdam's self-representation as the heart (as well as the purse) of the Republic. The praise of the admirals as the ideal Dutchmen, and their presence in death in Amsterdam, a presence shared by national and international mourners and, through the medium of text and image, by the readers of Commelin's book,

¹⁷⁴ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 453–460. Here, he also specifically refers to the sea-crowns mentioned above in the description of the frontispiece, and which were part of the iconographic programme of the tomb monument.

¹⁷⁵ Gerard Brandt, *Het Leven en Bedrijf van den Heere Michiel de Ruyter*. There are indirect references to the title in Commelin's text.

created the desired vision of Amsterdam as the ideal Dutch city and as the focus of Dutch virtues. It might also have been a contemporary symbol of Amsterdam's—or, rather, Dutch—martial qualities. Since 1688 the Netherlands had been at war with France, and a reference to their great naval heroes could help gather support for the war effort and raise morale with memories of former glory.

Otherwise Commelin covered the familiar ensemble of the *Stadhuis*, the various charitable institutions, the economic centres of the city and the places of learning that had already featured in Dapper's fictitious tour. He lingered a little longer at Amsterdam's Botanical Garden, which was also depicted in a double-paged image (between pages 654 and 655), not least because such a section gave him an opportunity to promote the activities of his brother Jan, a botanist in the city.¹⁷⁶

ORIGINS

Commelin still adhered to the canon of what should be incorporated into a chorographical text of the city, and followed Pontanus' thematical organization by beginning his compendium with a work which discussed the origins of the peoples of the Amstelland. For this purpose he reproduced a text by Arnoldus Montanus, the *Beschryvinge van d'eerste inwoonders van Amstel-land*, originally published in 1664. Montanus was the son of Pontanus' translator, Petrus Montanus, and it seems that in his discussion Montanus focused in particular on what he saw as misinterpretations by the Harderwijk professor.

Arnoldus Montanus went to great lengths in his argumentation against the Gallic *Menapii* as the first tribe to settle in what became Amsterdam's hinterland. This rejection of Gallic origins (in favour of a Frisian ancestry) was not new: Dapper had already favoured a Germanic ancestry over the Gallic genealogy. In this context, Montanus' arguments should not only be seen as a refutation of Pontanus; they also fitted well into the then current anti-French climate which might have supported Commelin's choice here. Montanus' text had already appeared in van Domselaer's work. It seemed uncontroversial, and received no further additions or comments from Commelin. At twenty-four pages it was reasonably short. It also included a separate

¹⁷⁶ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 675.

short chapter on the topography and the economic outlook of contemporary Holland which presented the province as a prosperous area with a rich and diverse agriculture, a high degree of urbanization and a strong interest in trade. Neither the Frisians nor any other ancestors of late antiquity reappeared in the text, and the reader was left with the impression that this passage was simply included as a formality to complete the picture of Amsterdam's past and as a relic of chorographical writing which, at the end of the seventeenth century, had lost its argumentative edge.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Much the same can be said of Commelin's treatment of the Middle Ages, which he covered in Book II. Here he used van Domselaer's text, adding comments and additional source material. This book was very detailed and incorporated long passages taken from Melis Stoke's *Rijmchronik*, additions from Arnoldus Buchelius' edition of Johannes Beka's *Chronographia*, and transcripts of original documents.¹⁷⁷ It also included non-historical and 'non-scientific' sources such as excerpts taken from P.C. Hooft's drama *Gerard van Velzen*, and Joost van den Vondel's *Gysbrecht van Amstel*. It might be argued that as a regent of Amsterdam's *Schouwburg*, van Domselaer had an interest in attracting further supporters of the theatre world among the readership of his book, and that Commelin shared this aspiration. The whole chapter, however, which was littered with Commelin's *Byvoegsel* (additions), usually in the form of references to and reprints of even more sources, makes for difficult reading. It was overgrown with countless cross-references to a whole range of sources on medieval Holland. They neither altered nor challenged previous arguments, but were simply additions to what was already presented in the earlier text and apparently served Commelin's aim to present a complete picture of Amsterdam's past and present. As in the first book, dealing with its first inhabitants and the survey of Holland, Amsterdam's medieval history was no longer narrated to inform the reader or to reaffirm a master-narrative of the city's path to prosperity and self-government. The history itself

¹⁷⁷ Arnoldus Buchelius, *Ioannes de Beka canonicus Ultrajectinus, et Wilhelmus Heda praepositus Arnhemensis, de episcopis Ultraiectinis, recognüiet notis historicis illustrati*, Utrecht (Doorn) 1643.

was, it seems, by now taken for granted: what was more important here was the way in which the city's leading intellectuals interpreted the past in different media. This strategy, however, could only be successful because the history of Amsterdam's medieval past was uncontested and had already been accepted as an essential part of the city's identity.

Besides the reference to the arts and their practice in the city, it might also be argued that Commelin was referring here to other media of commemoration, namely the historical dramas that were immensely popular in the Dutch Republic.¹⁷⁸ One could also argue that Commelin was adhering to the requirements of the classical antiquarian tradition with its references to festivals and plays. Given the vehement rejection of any classical texts expressed in the introduction, it is rather doubtful, however, that Commelin's emphasis on the cultural expressions of his city was the result of a close reading of antiquarian theories such as had been developed by Justus Lipsius and others at the beginning of the century.

THE DUTCH REVOLT

In Commelin's version of the Dutch Revolt the reader was presented with the familiar and very detailed story of the early stages of the war. Milestones and the familiar landmarks of the Revolt were covered, while the focus of the story remained on events in Amsterdam. Again, it seems that a re-interpretation of events was not required, but that a reference to the 'highlights' of the Revolt still remained a canonical part of chorographies of Amsterdam. The only addition that Commelin made to Dapper's account, which was taken as the basis for this part of Book VI, was the inclusion of original sources which illustrated, rather than argued about, the chain of events presented. There was no apology for Amsterdam's late conversion to the Orange cause, and no alternative narrative of the city as a peace-loving negotiator as presented by Pontanus. On the contrary, more than 120 years after the events, Commelin could afford to be forthright in his criticism of Amsterdam's policy at the time. In his opinion, Amsterdam had

¹⁷⁸ Hugh Dunthorne, 'Dramatizing the Dutch Revolt: Romantic History and its Sixteenth-Century Antecedents', in: Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands*, pp. 11–31.

remained “halsstark aan des Konings zijde” (stubbornly on the King’s side) while the city “toont zich zeer hartnekkig” (showed itself to be very stubborn).¹⁷⁹ As before, the history of the war remained focused on the first phase of the Dutch Revolt—the dramatic events of the 1570s and 1580s in which the Spanish forces could be portrayed as the brutal aggressors while the Dutch were on the defensive. Later events in which the Dutch armies were on the offensive and laid siege to cities in Spanish hands, do not enter into this repertoire. Although the Princes of Orange were the outspoken heroes of the Revolt, a story which emphasized citizens, and therefore civilians, fighting for their rights was certainly more appealing for the urban, civic readership that Commelin wanted to address. On the other hand, it might be argued that he could have used a reference to the victories of the Dutch armies in the campaigns of the seventeenth century to raise support for the current conflict with France. This, however, is not the case. Instead of featuring the siege of ’s-Hertogenbosch, for instance, under the date of 1629, Commelin preferred to cover the capture of the Spanish silver fleet by Admiral Piet Heyn, again, one might argue, a sign of the preference for naval heroes (in the case of Piet Heyn, even those of relatively low birth) over aristocratic military leaders.¹⁸⁰ Other great Dutch victories of the later period of the war, such as the sieges of Maastricht (1632) and of Breda (1637) likewise passed unnoticed. The key event recorded for the 1630s was Tulipomania, which was covered in great detail including names and prices of tulip bulbs.¹⁸¹ The next notable date then referred to the Treaties of Westphalia.

IMMIGRANTS AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Amsterdam’s image as a city of migrants and religious diversity, already a part of the self-representation of Dapper’s text, was further elaborated in Commelin’s book. It was also visualized in the numerous and often doubled-sided engravings of immigrant and minority places of worship in the city, which were covered in great detail. It might be argued that, in this respect, Commelin was responding to the

¹⁷⁹ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 1053, marginalia, p. 1067.

¹⁸⁰ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 1109.

¹⁸¹ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 1111–1112.

expectations of a readership which also came from outside Amsterdam and, probably even from outside the Dutch Republic. Benjamin Kaplan has pointed out that by the end of the seventeenth century, religious tolerance as practised in Amsterdam had been part of the stereotype associated with the city by foreign visitors.¹⁸² German and English travel accounts mentioned Dutch tolerance and the visibility of non-Calvinist places of worship in Amsterdam. Commelin certainly played to this image. He was outspoken about the international and multi-confessional character of his city. Minority churches, which were presented here as centres of immigrant life, were described in great detail and also featured prominently in the cityscape presented both in the 'bird's-eye' maps and in the images of specific buildings. The chapters which feature immigrants most prominently were taken from Isaac Commelin's book with additions by his son. The most prominent representatives of the immigrant churches were the French, who were mentioned at various stages, and whose two churches, the old and the new French Church, were the first non Dutch churches depicted in Commelin's 'city tour'.¹⁸³ Here, he pointed out that extensions of the church building had become necessary as a consequence of the large influx of Huguenots from France since the early 1680s. Extensive lists of ministers added to the prominence of the French church and its members in the city. Descriptions of other churches, both in text and image, followed. They included the large Lutheran church and the churches of the Mennonites, where the viewer was also given two views of the interior of the buildings.¹⁸⁴ The two main synagogues of the city received extensive coverage in the text and by engravings. Smaller churches such as the Arminians and Brownists were also covered. With the exception of the Brownists', all places of worship featured in the largest and most recent 'bird's-eye' map in the book—undeniable testimony to their importance in Amsterdam's cityscape and in its social, cultural and economic life. For both Commelin father

¹⁸² Benjamin Kaplan, '“Dutch” religious tolerance', here pp. 16–17. It is possibly no coincidence that the first Amsterdam chorography, which explicitly dealt with non-Calvinist churches and notably with the Jewish community, their places and their practices of worship, is Philip von Zesen's *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, published in German in 1664. Von Zesen's chorography was commissioned by the Dutch East India Company, whose members probably wanted a German version to present to their German trading partners and visitors.

¹⁸³ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 480f.

¹⁸⁴ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 500, 501.

and son, their presence, or rather, the precondition of their presence—the freedom of conscience offered by the city (even to Catholics, the reader was reminded, although these were not allowed to establish a public church)—was seen as the secret of Amsterdam's economic success.¹⁸⁵ For Commelin, as well as for his predecessors, however, immigrants in the city were only visible as members of their churches, which offered them spiritual and financial support and guidance for good conduct. In his interpretation, immigrants came to Amsterdam for this privilege of religious toleration. Other forms of migration were not mentioned here; migrants who did not conform to the requirements of any of the churches were also excluded. To look at the issue from the opposite point of view, however, it can be argued that, for Commelin, minority churches in Amsterdam were constructed as dissident churches where non-Amsterdammers worshipped; this in turn implied that Amsterdam citizens and natives were members or supporters of the dominant Calvinist church. Hence the message was that freedom of conscience, Amsterdam's great asset, could only function properly when one confession, the Dutch Calvinist faith, maintained its leading position and set the agenda for what was right and proper in the city. As in Dapper's texts, immigrants from the Southern Netherlands were not mentioned at all. In the 1690s they no longer played a role as the significant others in the city.¹⁸⁶

This interpretation of the international character of Amsterdam was not new. References to its status as a city of migrants and an appraisal of the Amsterdam's offer of freedom of conscience, with its positive consequences for migration, had already been pointed out by Dapper. In the light of the international political situation, this aspect of the city's policy became, however, a sharp political tool, clearly directed against France. Amsterdam offered everything that Paris did not: religious tolerance, opportunities for industrious immigrants of different faiths, and a strong civic identity. Religious refugees from France featured prominently in Commelin's discussion of the social services in Amsterdam and elsewhere in the Dutch Republic: the reader was informed that French ministers were offered posts in the United Provinces upon arrival, that French Huguenot officers received pensions, and that French refugees were supported by collections from other

¹⁸⁵ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 236, 483.

¹⁸⁶ Judith Pollmann, "Brabanterers do fairly resemble Spaniards after all".

Reformed churches in the city.¹⁸⁷ By this time, Amsterdam's religious and confessional diversity had clearly become a trademark of the city and a selling point not only in the war with France, but also as an attraction for foreign investors, entrepreneurs and manual labour.

The international and multi-confessional aspect of the city was further displayed in Commelin's list of eminent men of the city. His appraisal was based on Dapper's text and covered the repertoire of men of learning as well as the list of eminent naval heroes, updated to his time. He also made some significant additions which praised learned Catholics such as the Leuven professor Jacob Jansonius, a native of Amsterdam who became Doctor of Divinity in the Spanish Netherlands' centre of learning and who was also regent of the papal college in Leuven. Also included were two other native Amsterdamers who became prominent voices of Catholicism: Willem Estius, professor in Douai, and the Jesuit Maximilian vanden Sanden alias Sandaeus, who lived and worked in Rome and in Cologne. Further additions to the list, which went beyond the traditional selection of eminent Protestants, national heroes and intellectuals, include the Rector of the Latin School, Cornelius Sladus, whose parents had immigrated from England. These additions fitted well into Commelin's programme of Amsterdam as a tolerant city of opportunity.¹⁸⁸ Eminent Jews, however, such as, for instance, Rabbi Jacob Jehuda Leon, who was mentioned in other chorographies of Amsterdam, in particular in connection with his famous model of Salomon's Temple, are not included here.¹⁸⁹

RECENT HISTORY

The last book of the collection, an update of the narrative to the 1690s, adds yet another dimension to Commelin's work. It provided a very detailed political history of the previous fifty years. This narrative was in striking contrast to the earlier parts of the text. In terms of style, it offered a straight, detached history of mostly international events that related to the Netherlands. With the exception of the struggle between the city and William II of Orange, the book did not feature

¹⁸⁷ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 493, 1221.

¹⁸⁸ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 860ff.

¹⁸⁹ For Jacob Jehuda Leon see Philip von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1664, pp. 191–192.

Amsterdam in particular. The reader was not presented with the long lists of arguments and counter-arguments based on different secondary interpretations that had been such a prominent feature in the earlier parts of the narrative. Footnotes disappeared to be replaced by brief explanatory margins and “additions”. This change in style was the product of Commelin’s use of Lieuwe Aitzema’s work, which was written in the form expected from a political history at the time and did not follow an antiquarian agenda.

This narrative part of the book, which was included to fulfil Commelin’s promise of chronological completeness, was again used to express strong anti-French sentiments. The story presented here was very much a story of French expansionism, and it gave Commelin the opportunity to highlight once again the plight of the Huguenots.¹⁹⁰

Its position at the very end of the book and after an account of all the natural and man-made disasters that had befallen the city in the past is somewhat awkward. It seems that Commelin incorporated this part as an afterthought, and that this might be the reason why he relied so heavily on Aitzema.

Despite of his emphasis on the use of historical sources and his work in archives, Commelin was not a historian. Neither was he a chorographer, but a compiler, and in that respect he might be called an antiquarian. Whether his interests in the publication of the book were purely commercial—he might have seen the opportunity to republish van Domselaer, whose work had apparently been popular in the city—, whether he wanted to see his father’s work in print again, contextualized in a wider study of the city, or whether he felt the genuine need to add something new to the market on Amsterdam remains open to debate. As an intellectual enterprise, the harsh verdict on his work would be to classify it as a failure. It was too long, too overburdened with sources and additional pieces of information. It lacked stringency. Yet as an exercise in compiling evidence of the past and present of the greatest metropolis of his time in a multi-media format, it was a success.

¹⁹⁰ Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, pp. 1193–1223.

AMSTERDAM'S CHOROGRAPHIES: A SUMMARY

The three chorographies on Amsterdam presented here were milestones in more than one respect. They stand out as examples of chorographical studies and the changing conventions of the writing of the past, each representing different stages in the development of the genre, but also of the definition of what constituted *Historia* and what should be described as 'Antiquarianism'. As historical-topographical descriptions of the most powerful and dynamic city in the Dutch Republic and one of the most important metropolises in the western world, they highlighted both the continuities and the changes in the self-representation of self-confident citizens who took pride in their achievements as politicians, merchants, intellectuals and patriots.

At the same time, the three books reflect the expanding intellectual world in which they were written, or, more specifically, the expanding body of learned men who had the desire and the means to write about their city's past. While Johannes Pontanus, an academically trained professional historian, set the agenda for chorographical writings at the beginning of the seventeenth century with his Latin history of Amsterdam, nothing is known about the academic credentials of the printer-publisher Caspar Commelin at the end of the century. Some training might have been expected in a man who would inherit the printing business of his father, but that would not necessarily have been related to academic studies. Between the two, it can be argued that Olfert Dapper, who had received a university education in medicine, stood at the crossroads of the professional separation of humanities and sciences which only became common in the eighteenth century.¹⁹¹ It might also be argued that he stood at the crossroads of the antiquarian as erudite amateur and as intellectual author with an academic training, and who was well-informed about the latest debates in academia on methodology and approaches to his topic. Although he felt obliged to respond to potential criticism that his daily business did not bring him close enough to the relevant sources, Dapper was certainly regarded as a proper professional who, with the patronage of the Witsen family, could gain access to the city's archives, and who demonstrated in his

¹⁹¹ On the fluidity and cross-fertilization of historical and medical studies see, most recently: Gianna Pomata, Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Introduction: *Historia*. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe', pp. 1–38.

introduction and elsewhere in the text that he was not only well aware of the requirements of chorographical writing but even able to modify and shape these requirements with intellectual confidence.

The diversity of professional training and academic skills of the three chorographers presented in this study is also reflected in the way they approached their task, which underwent subtle yet quite striking changes within each of the three books. While Pontanus set the agenda for chorographical studies, which incorporated both elements of the *artes historicae* and antiquarian approaches, Commelin is a representative of the development of chorographies as an amateur antiquarian pursuit which became the target of ridicule in the academic circles of the eighteenth century, and which parted company with the writing of civic histories. On a fictitious scale between the Ciceronian conventions which Pontanus served and the rather uncritical compilation of artefacts and documents that characterize Commelin's work, Dapper tended towards the former. Although he rejected rhetorical history, whose submission to style he deemed a stumbling block to the discovery and the presentation of historical 'truth', his intellectual world was inhabited by the masters of humanist study. This world was firmly rejected by Commelin, who banished all trace of the much maligned ancients from his book by translating every Latin word into his native Dutch. Throughout the seventeenth century, references to eye-witnesses of the events described and to original sources which were increasingly cited, gained importance as markers of authenticity and historical 'truth', which replaced the power of persuasion encapsulated in earlier humanist writings. Commelin's reproduction of heraldic images, seals and tombstones pointed further towards a reliance on artefacts and monuments, which became the favoured evidence used by antiquarians. The reference to these "trophies of time" eventually silenced the authorial voice of chorographical texts, whose interpretations and comments disappeared behind their meticulously footnoted sources at the end of the seventeenth century. From Pontanus to Commelin, the reader was also increasingly presented with visual aids in the form of maps, engravings of buildings and prominent places as well as reproductions of coins, artefacts and heraldic objects. This reflects the increasing importance and ubiquity of Dutch cartography, and the growing popular interest in antiquarianism and an increasing focus on material sources over written texts.

Thematically, Pontanus set the agenda for a canon of themes that were covered in the chorographies which followed throughout the

century. Over the decades, however, issues that had once been at the heart of academic debate were marginalized. This is particularly evident in the discussion of the disputed Batavian origins of the first Hollanders. Over time, the Batavian question lost its relevance for the establishment of primacy in the competition of the Dutch provinces and also in the formation of a Dutch identity. It became a requisite, a piece of the jigsaw that was Amsterdam, which simply had to be retold and reaffirmed as part of a long-vanished past, and as such it reappeared in later texts. While Dapper was still caught up the question of the Germanic or French origins of Holland's alleged founding fathers, the story of the Batavian past had become a mere formality in Commelin's book. This decline of the Batavian argument did not correspond, however, with the role of the Batavian theme in other media. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Town Hall of Amsterdam, for instance, devoted much public space to a Batavian iconography.¹⁹²

To some extent this interpretation can also be applied to the role of the Dutch Revolt. As a key event, a fundamental basis for the establishment of the Dutch Republic and the rise of Amsterdam, it had to be part of every chorography. Of the Revolt, some key events recounting the heroic resistance of determined citizens against a seemingly invincible enemy became essential requisites in the liberation story told in chorographies of Amsterdam. Although Commelin offered a less apologetic interpretation of Amsterdam's role in the Revolt, the almost hagiographical coverage of the early years of the sieges, in which the cities were collectively stylized as martyrs for the cause of Dutch liberty, was still part of what was expected of a chorography of Amsterdam. The fact that Commelin reproduced Dapper for this episode with only minor additions and without discussing or challenging Dapper's text shows, how much of the narrative had become, and remained, canonical, but also how much is was fossilized.

Amsterdam, as the city known to Pontanus, Dapper, Commelin and their readers, was a place which prospered, and which thrived on its economic success. Amsterdam was a metropolis based on international commerce and trade. It was, or rather, was described in social and cultural composition, as a city which took pride in its

¹⁹² On Batavian representations in the Netherlands, see: Exhibition Catalogue: *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk*, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen (De Bataafsche Leeuw), 2004.

multi-confessional open-mindedness. While at the beginning of the century Pontanus was still eager to present a picture of cultural and confessional uniformity with rather few remarks on dissenters in the city, both Dapper and, to an even greater extent, Commelin outlined the diversity in confessional and cultural outlook as one of the key assets of the city. Religious tolerance, which had been constructed as an argument to support the Revolt, became the trademark of the city. National heroes, such as Admiral de Ruyter were appropriated and gained prime position in Amsterdam's culture of memory thus creating the image of the city, which was in every respect the centre of the Dutch Republic symbolizing *burgher* values, patriotism and economic success through overseas enterprises.

CHAPTER TWO

TOT LOF VAN HAARLEM: MEMORIES IN COMPETITION

One of Amsterdam's key competitors in Holland, both in seniority, prestige and, until the seventeenth century, in economic power, was Haarlem, a city in close neighbourhood to the metropolis, but without a sea harbour.¹ Haarlem's roots can be traced back to the tenth century, when a settlement, and later a church, was recorded in inventories of the Bishop of Utrecht and the Luxembourg monastery of Echternach.² Haarlemmers took particular pride in the fact that city rights had been granted in 1245 by Count Willem II of Holland. A series of devastating fires destroyed the old city in the fourteenth century. The reconstruction programmes, which restored Haarlem with remarkable speed after each disaster, focused on the original quadrilateral outline of the city, deliberately modelled on the Holy City of Jerusalem. In spite of the setbacks, Haarlem remained the second largest city in Holland in the fourteenth century. Demographically, it was surpassed only by Dordrecht, remaining larger than Delft, Leiden, Gouda, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. However, differences in population in the province remained relatively small until the rise of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. According to a census in 1514 the five most populous cities in Holland all counted between 12,500 (Leiden) and 10,500 (Delft) inhabitants and Haarlem ranked fourth with 11,500 people, after Leiden, Amsterdam and Dordrecht.³ Haarlem specialized in textiles and in beer brewing. While beer brewing substantially declined in the 1520s, textile production remained a vital part of the city's economy during the Golden Age. Haarlem became particularly noted for its linen damask, taking over from Kortrijk as the centre of production of high-quality, luxury tableware.⁴ The city also profited

¹ For a history of Haarlem see G.F. van der Ree-Scholtens et al. (eds.), *Deugd boven geweld. Een geschiedenis van Haarlem, 1245–1995*, Hilversum (Verloren) 1995.

² G.F. van der Ree-Scholtens et al. (eds.), *Deugd boven geweld*, pp. 20–21.

³ Figures taken from Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness and Fall*, p. 116.

⁴ For a discussion of Haarlem's textile industry see for instance: A.J. De Graaf, L. Hanssen, I. de Roode (eds.), *Textiel aan het Spaarne. Haarlem: van linnen damast tot zijden linten*, Amsterdam (Stichting Textielcommissie Nederland) 1997.

economically from the Thirty Years' War which shattered the textile industry of its German competitors. The blockade of Flemish exports in the 1620s further increased Haarlem's role as a leading textile centre in the Low Countries. Since the Middle Ages, Haarlem had also been the leading centre for the arts, and particularly for painting, in Holland. The city's clerical and secular elite commissioned eminent artists such as Maarten van Heemskerck, Pieter Jansz. Foppesz and Pieter Saenredam and the engravers Dirk Volkertsz. Coornhert and Hendrick Goltzius to decorate their churches, municipal buildings and private houses, but interest in Haarlem's art world extended far beyond the city walls.⁵

Like Amsterdam, the city also experienced a massive population growth in the last decades of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, albeit beginning from a lower level and after substantial demographic losses during the early years of the Dutch Revolt. Haarlem more than doubled its population between 1573 (18,000) and 1622 (39,500).⁶ In the 1620s half of Haarlem's inhabitants were immigrants from the Southern Netherlands. Demographic figures then remained relatively unchanged until the last quarter of the seventeenth century when numbers fell again reflecting the changing fortunes of the city's economy. Haarlem's magistrates reacted rather half-heartedly to the overcrowding of their city: after 1577 Catholic religious houses were demolished and replaced by new housing for immigrants. The city only reluctantly extended its medieval boundaries in 1610 when the old bleaching fields of the textile industry were moved further afield to make way for often small new houses. Further and better organized extension programmes were only developed in the 1670s when the city anticipated a massive influx of French refugees, who, however, did not come in the predicted numbers.

A key event in Haarlem's political memory was its participation in the Fifth Crusade and the siege of the Egyptian port of Damietta in 1219, which became a focal point in the city's commemorative culture from the late fifteenth century onwards.⁷ Haarlem's allegedly leading

⁵ G.F. van der Ree-Scholtens et al. (eds.), *Deugd boven geweld*, chapter 6. For the post-Reformation period see Truus van Bueren, *Tot lof van Haarlem: Het beleid van de stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de kunstwerken uit de geconfisqueerde geestelijke instellingen*, Hilversum (Verloren) 1993.

⁶ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 380.

⁷ In 1620 two tapestries covering the Damietta story decorated the *vroedschapskamer* in Haarlem's town hall. The larger of the two (2.40m × 10.25m) was hung

role in the siege cannot be traced in any accounts of the Crusade and the fact, that most of Haarlem's historians and commentators misappropriated the date, hardly inspires confidence in the truth of this story.⁸ The second great theme in Haarlem's public memory was the siege of the city in 1572, which also featured prominently in popular commemorations and plays.⁹ After the capture of Brielle by the *Sea Beggars*, Haarlem's municipal authorities supported the Revolt which lead to one of the most dramatic episodes in the city's history. The Spanish army under the command of Don Fadrique de Toledo and Alva's *stadholder* Count Bossu began an epic siege on 1 December 1572, which lasted for seven months, until 13 July 1573, when the city was forced to surrender and to accept a Spanish garrison. Spanish troops stayed in Haarlem until 1577. Together with Amsterdam the city remained a bastion of Spanish power in rebel Holland. These events not only set the agenda for Haarlem's future image as a town of heroic resistance, but also further contributed to the hostile reputation of the Spanish in the Low Countries, and of the Duke of Alva in particular. After the city's surrender Spanish troops executed the entire Dutch garrison, over 2,000 men, in cold blood. In October 1576 another great fire, caused accidentally by German mercenary troops, again destroyed large parts of the city and further decimated an already desperately diminished population.

Haarlem's pre-Reformation world was highly influenced by the *Devotio Moderna* movement of the late Middle Ages. The city's religious world offered a rich tapestry of monastic houses and nunneries, a large Beguinage while for a brief period from 1561 to 1577 (with an interruption in 1572/73) the city was the seat of a bishop. After 1577

from the balcony of the town hall when high dignitaries visited the city. It was no coincidence that an inn on the road from Haarlem to Amsterdam was called "'t ship van Damiate" and decorated with a sign showing the famous vessel. For the development of the Damietta legend in literature, art and civic ritual see: Wim van Anrooij, 'Middeleeuwse sporen van de Haarlemse Damiate-legende', in: Elidius Klaas Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon: literatuur en toneel te Haarlem*, Hilversum (Verloren) 1993, pp. 11–25 and most recently: Willem Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée. La mémoire de croisade, instrument de concorde civique (Haarlem, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)', *Revue du Nord* 88, 364, 2006, pp. 7–42.

⁸ Petrus Scriverius, for instance, dates the siege to 1188. See *ibid.*, *Oudt Batavien nu ghenaeamt Holland*, Leiden 1606.

⁹ See, for instance, Marijke Meijer Drees, 'De smaak onzer natie, De afloop van zeventiende- en achttiende-eeuwse drama's over het beleg van Haarlem', in: Elidius Klaas Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon*, pp. 139–148.

Haarlem was and remained confessionally diverse. The city maintained a strong Catholic minority, which also included some prominent citizens and, until 1618, major officeholders. Catholic worship in public continued officially until 1581, longer than in any other city in Holland and restrictions on Catholic masses were only issued after pressure from the States of Holland.¹⁰ Politics changed again in the early seventeenth century, when non-Calvinist Protestants (including Anabaptists and Lutherans) and Catholics were formally granted permission to worship in the city (as long as gatherings remained small).¹¹ This generosity, however, was not extended to Jews. A request from a Portuguese Jew for permission to reside and to worship in the city in 1605 was only granted on condition that at least fifty Jewish families, who could demonstrate that they would increase the wealth of the city through their trade, should join him. The petition was withdrawn, and the first Jewish community in Haarlem was only founded in the 1760s. The multi-confessional life that developed in the city posed a particular challenge to her elite as well as to historians, whose task it was to present a picture of civic unity and identity. This chapter will demonstrate how they constructed this image by making use of older histories and focusing on key events which enabled Haarlemmers to unify as Christians and citizens rather than as members of a distinct confession.

Chronologically, a discussion of Haarlem's chorographies brings us back to the beginnings of the genre in its early seventeenth-century form. The chapter will demonstrate how Haarlem's historians combined earlier and later versions of the praise of their city. These will include Samuel Ampzing, a Calvinist minister and Theodor Schrevelius, who presented his version of Haarlem's history and topography twenty years after Ampzing's publication. Schrevelius was rector of the city's Latin School and well connected with the intellectual world of the time. The third author under review, the water engineer and dike builder Jan Adriaenszoon Leeghwater, although a very unlikely

¹⁰ For figures see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 380. For further details and Haarlem's confessional policy see Joke Spaans' seminal, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke Cultuur and kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620*, The Hague (Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks) 1989.

¹¹ Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*. Spaans convincingly argues that only about half of the population in the city had definite religious ties, while others never acquired full membership in any of the churches. See also Truus van Bueren, *Tot lof van Haarlem*, p. 198.

chorographer, nevertheless felt the desire to produce a small chorography of Haarlem, which was published in 1669.

Haarlem could look back on a rich literary tradition. When the United Provinces discussed the establishment of a new, national university, Haarlem was among the top candidates, but had to be excluded eventually, because it was under occupation when the final decision was made; in the event, Leiden was chosen. Haarlem's magistrates never considered the possibility of setting up another university at a later time and did not even establish an Illustrious School. Within the existing educational institutions, however, the city's Latin School featured prominently and attracted some eminent intellectuals. Hadrianus Junius, who was born in Hoorn, became the city's physician and, for a brief and apparently unsuccessful period from 1550 to 1552, the rector of Haarlem's Latin School. Other prominent historians/antiquarians active in Haarlem at the time were Petrus Scriverius, a native son of the city, and the public notary Pieter Christiaensz. Bor. The lively bookselling and printing scene in Haarlem was certainly congenial to the development of a literary circle of historians, philologists and antiquarians in search of the history and identity of the city, of Holland, and also of the new Dutch Republic.

Henk van Nierop, Eddy Verbaan and Willem Frijhoff have pointed out that urban rivalries in the early seventeenth century played an important part in the development of the chorographical genre and that Haarlem's citizens keenly felt the competition from Amsterdam and Leiden, both in economic terms and also in the production of representative texts in praise of their cities.¹² They argue that after the publication of Pontanus' chorography of Amsterdam in 1611 and 1614 and of Jan Janszoon Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden*, published in Leiden in 1614, chorographical descriptions came to be seen

¹² Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city: Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische Geschiedenis*, 20, 1993, pp. 268–282; *ibid.*, 'Lof en beschrijving van Haarlem bij Samuel Ampzing', in: Koos Levy-van Halm (et al.), *De trots van Haarlem. Promotie van en stad in kunst en historie*, Haarlem (Catalogus Frans Hals Museum) 1995, 13–20; Eddy Verbaan, 'Jan Janszoon Orlers schetst Leiden', Willem Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée. La mémoire de croisade, instrument de concorde civique (Haarlem, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)', pp. 7–42. E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, by contrast, argues that urban competition did not play a prominent part in the production of these texts. Haitsma Mulier, 'Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-century Province of Holland', in: Wheelock/Seeff (eds.), *The Public and the Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*.

as the vehicle for the praise of a city, and that Haarlemmers felt the need to respond with a similar enterprise. In the light of the new texts earlier representative forms such as the medieval *stedenlob* were no longer sufficient to represent a city's past and its present role in the Dutch Republic. Unlike Amsterdam, Haarlem could look back on a long line of texts written in praise of the city well before the arrival of the new chorographical genre. Henk van Nierop has carefully outlined the medieval and humanist traditions of Haarlem's historiography.¹³ In his studies of Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende Lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, the most prominent chorographical description of Haarlem in the first half of the seventeenth century, van Nierop has meticulously traced the development of the chorographical genre through various earlier stages of *stedenlob* and dedicatory poems. To date, his articles, as well as a brief study by Joke Spaans are the only detailed discussions of Ampzing's rather bulky and generally indigestible text.¹⁴

Samuel Ampzing (1590–1632) was the son of a Calvinist minister who had fled the city and his family with his mistress in 1594. The boy was educated in Haarlem's Latin School at the expenses of the city magistrates and then sent to Leiden to study Theology. In 1613 he was a student in Geneva and in 1616 he became a Calvinist minister. Three years later he returned to his native city to take up the ministry in the Grote Kerk. He might have seen his literary output as a reward for the magistrates, who had so generously sponsored his education and training. His praise of Haarlem underwent several metamorphoses. A first version in panegyric form was anonymously published under the title *De Lof van Haarlem* in 1616.¹⁵ In 1621 a new edition of this work under the title *Het Lof der Stadt Haerlem in Hollandt* appeared, again anonymously.¹⁶ His last publication in praise of the city, his

¹³ Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city'; See also Joke Spaans, 'Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen. Het gebruik van oude geschiedenissen door de Haarlemse stadsgeschiedschrijver Samuel Ampzing', in: Els de Bijl Nachenius et al. (eds.), *Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen. Opstellen in theologisch perspectief*, Leiden (Collegium Theologicum) 1989, pp. 4–21.

¹⁴ Ampzing's text is also mentioned in most of the more general discussions of Dutch chorographies, see, for instance, the articles by E.O.G. Haitma Mulier. A more detailed analysis of the text can be expected from Eddy Verbaan's forthcoming PhD dissertation.

¹⁵ Anon, *De Lof van Haarlem*, Haarlem 1616.

¹⁶ For further references to these editions see Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city'.

Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland became his lasting legacy. It was published under his own name and was no longer constrained to verses, but also included large sections of descriptions, texts by other authors and engravings, a mixture which makes it difficult for the reader to follow his presentation, spread as it is over 520 pages with seventeen engravings after paintings of city scenes from various perspectives by Pieter Saenredam. The 1628 edition also included Ampzing's *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht*, in which the author advocated the use of (good) Dutch and criticized the prevalence of foreign languages in his native country.¹⁷ In this respect, he certainly echoed Pontanus' appeal to treat the Dutch mother tongue as the language for learned and patriotic people. The edition also included Petrus Scriverius' *Laure-Kranz voor Laurenz Koster*. Koster had been one of Haarlem's greatest sons and was praised for the invention of the printing press—an achievement frequently put forward in Haarlem's literary productions. The antiquarian Petrus Scriverius, a fellow-Haarlemmer, had been a close friend and supporter of Ampzing's work. It is likely that Ampzing had been persuaded to embark on his last treatment of the city in chorographical form by, amongst other, Scriverius, who also might have given him access to the sources in his library, which included a copy of the *Chronicon Egmundanium*, the "oude geschreeve Kronijk van Egmont", which Ampzing cited in his text.¹⁸ Ampzing was also in contact with Arnoldus Buchelius, who commented on his work after its publication in 1628 and suggested amendments and corrections, which Ampzing was eager to incorporate into a later version. This, however, never appeared.¹⁹ The praise of Haarlem itself remained a mixture of traditional conventions taken from the medieval *stedenlob*, *laus urbis*, and the new forms of chorography, already developed by Pontanus in his description of Amsterdam and by Jan Janszoon Orlers in his *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden*.²⁰ The classical genre of *laus urbis* reached Holland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; scholars such as Janus Dousa, Heinsius, Lipsius and Grotius

¹⁷ For this study I have used the facsimile edition: Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland*, 1628, N.V. Buijten & Schipperheijn, Repro-Holland Facsimile Edition 1974.

¹⁸ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 95. For the relationship between Scriverius and Ampzing see Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, pp. 189–191.

¹⁹ For the relationship between Buchelius and Ampzing see Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, pp. 282–285.

²⁰ Jan Janszoon Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden*, Leiden (van Haestens) 1614.

used it to write verses in praise of their native cities. The originally neo-Latin poetry first found a Dutch voice in Constantijn Huygen's *Stede-stemmen en dorpen*.²¹ Although Ampzing heavily relied on the rhetorical requirements of classical and humanist panegyric as set out in the *stedenrijms*, he also felt obliged to extend his repertoire to match the chorographies of his contemporary competitors in Amsterdam and in Leiden. The result was a hybrid with large sections of poetry by authors such as Ampzing's close friend Petrus Scriverius.

Ampzing included a lengthy introduction in which he set out the aim of his study and his intellectual journey since he began to write in praise of the city. Here, he mentioned a poem written when he was still a student in Leiden in 1616, which, he now felt, littered as it was with references to the classical gods, was no longer appropriate for a Protestant minister. He also argued that the Dutch language had only now reached a state of maturity which allowed publications such as his *Beschryvinge* in the vernacular.²² Otherwise, the text paid homage to the humanist conventions of his time with citations of the standard repertoire of classical authors such as Cicero, Ovid, Cassiodor and Plato. As was to be expected of a Calvinist minister, he also included references and quotations from biblical texts where appropriate. A reflection on what should be discussed in his text in terms of topographical and historical coverage, methodology and approach, however, was not presented. For Ampzing, love of his *patria* was the driving force behind his project. This is reflected in the choice of citations in the introduction and also in an outspoken statement in the second page of the *Voor-Rede*, in which he claimed the he was "proud to be a citizen of Holland, and there particularly a citizen of Haarlem".²³ His use of the term *patria* or, in Ovid's quotation "solum natale", covered different dimensions. While Ampzing translated "solum natale" as "*vader-stad*" (native city) he also identified the province of Holland as his *patria*. The United Provinces, however, were not mentioned as a frame of

²¹ Constantijn Huygens, *Stede-stemmen en dorpen*. C.W. de Kruyter (ed.) Zutphen (W.J. Thieme & cie) 1981, pp. 3–39. See also Frans P.T. Slits, *Het Latijnse stededicht. Oorsprong en ontwikkeling tot in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam (unpublished PhD dissertation) 1990.

²² Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland*, Haarlem 1628, Voor-Rede; Ende Toe-Eygen-Brief.

²³ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, Voor-Rede "So beroeme ick mij dan eenen Hollander, ende aldaer immers so seer eenen Haerlemmer."

reference for (his) patriotic feelings.²⁴ If, as has been argued, Ampzing's vision of a fatherland followed concentric circles with the city at the centre, its suburbs in the inner and the province of Holland in the outer periphery, then the furthest circle would be heaven, the *patria* of every good Christian and the final destination of every man's journey.²⁵ His profession as a minister, Ampzing argued, did not exclude him from working as a poet and as a historian. On the contrary, the praise of his native city, on which he now embarked, was also a praise of God, who had protected Haarlem in times of crisis and gifted her with so many privileges and signs of his support; a *laus urbis* was therefore only a proper response to God's protection and generosity. These arguments certainly pleased Haarlem's citizens, and, more specifically the magistrates, to whom Ampzing dedicated his work.²⁶ In his book, Ampzing used a wide range of sources, which he clearly identified as quotations by the use of different typefaces, though these give the book a rather irregular appearance. Although he did not list his sources in his introduction, Ampzing used a number of contemporary and near-contemporary texts and older descriptions of Holland such as the *Divisiiekroniek*. He also incorporated original documents, particularly letters, which he might have consulted in Haarlem's city archives. He did not however claim to have had access to Haarlem's municipal archives, but he clearly felt obliged to refer to these texts either by quoting them verbatim or through references. Compared to his fellow-chorographers in Amsterdam, his use of such sources, however, remained rather uncritical. He made no attempt to compare or contrast various arguments, contenting himself with simply presenting

²⁴ It has been pointed out, however, that he used the term *patria* for the United Provinces in other texts. Van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city', p. 278.

²⁵ Van Nierop 'How to honour one's city', pp. 277–278.

²⁶ Ampzing received 300 pond (Holland equivalent to guilders) for the delivery of fifty copies of his book to Haarlem's magistrates. In 1629 he received another 600 pond spread over the year in two instalments for his extraordinary efforts in praise of the city. It seems, however, that by 1629 the city magistrates felt a little overwhelmed by the flood of publications dedicated to them and the expected financial rewards by the respective authors. On 29 July 1629 they decided to raise the salary of the Calvinist ministers in the city, who had been the main producers of these texts, from 500 to 600 guilders per annum with the condition that they should in future refrain from dedicating their works to the city's magistrates. For details see Brigitte Buissink, Jeroem Kleijne, 'Theses en thesauriers. Dedicaties van boeken aan het Haarlemse stadsbestuur', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon*, pp. 111–122.

the material that he deemed important and necessary for his study without further analysis.

Ampzing took great care to incorporate images and maps in his publication. With a few exception most of the engravings were specifically made for his book. Here, Ampzing could rely on the support of the artists Pieter Saenredam and Jan van de Velde, who were then working for his publisher Adriaen Roman.²⁷ Moreover, each of the engravings was complemented by a text, mostly in rhyme, where Ampzing described what was shown and sometimes added admonitions to these for the benefit of his readers. He also incorporated a number of maps depicting the city either in 'birds-eye' view or in panorama. These include an engraving of the siege of Haarlem and a view of the city in Ampzing's time, which shows a busy, prosperous and industrious place, with no traces of its previous devastations.²⁸

The text itself covered only some of the expected topics for chorographical writings. It started with a discussion of the origins of Haarlem, but said nothing about either the flora and fauna or the peoples of the area. In his theories on the origins of the city Ampzing did not differ from his predecessors. He discussed origin myths such as the foundation of the city by a Heer Lem, a giant, who supposedly gave Haarlem her name—a story that had already been ridiculed by Janus Dousa and Hadrianus Junius. Ampzing joined these critics believing that the Lords of Haarlem had probably founded the city in the early sixth century. This version of Haarlem's foundation gave him the opportunity to list eminent members of the neighbouring nobility and to present the reader with genealogies of noble houses whose members had influenced politics in the city. Connections between the local and regional nobility and the city played an important part in Ampzing's creation of Haarlem's image. While Amsterdam's chorographers restricted the influence of the aristocracy and lesser nobility on the city to the Middle Ages, Ampzing and his successors frequently mentioned leading families in their accounts of later episodes in Haarlem's history, for instance the dramatic period of the Eighty Years' War.

²⁷ For this collaboration see Gary Schwartz & Maarten Jan Bok, *Pieter Saenredam. The painter and his time*, London (Thames and Hudson) 1990.

²⁸ For Haarlem's maps see, for instance, A.G. van der Steur, "*Harlemia Illustrata*", *Haarlem en Zuid Kennemerland in de prentkunst*, cat. Exh. Haarlem 1993; Kees Zandvliet, *De groote waereld in't klein geschildert. Nederlandse kartografie tussen de middeleeuwen en de industriële revolutie*, Alphen aan den Rijn (Canaletto) 1985.

Ampzing then embarked on a programme to demonstrate Haarlem's seniority, especially in comparison to Amsterdam emphasizing in particular the grant of city rights in 1245 by Count Willem II, King of the Holy Roman Empire, himself a native Haarlemmer.²⁹

ORIGIN MYTHS AND THE BATAVIAN THEME

Ampzing's discussion of Haarlem's origins remained firmly based on the genealogy of a number of noble families such as the Houses of Brederode, Albertsberg, Vogelsang, Assendelft and others. He did not enter into the arguments about ancient tribes in Roman or post-Roman times. The Batavians were frequently mentioned in the poems incorporated into his text, usually at times when the valiant qualities of the Dutch, and more specifically, the Hollanders, for instance in the fight against the Spanish, were praised.³⁰ Otherwise the reader was spared any form of Batavian narrative. Clearly, esteem through references to any founding fathers of the Dutch nation was not part of Ampzing's vision of his city's past. He suggested instead, that the name of the area around Haarlem, the Kennemerland, originated in the Norman invasion of the ninth century. Based on his reading of the *Divisiekroneik*, the Annals of Regino of Prüm and the Chronicle of the Abbot of Echternach, Ampzing supposed the Normans came from a region in Denmark, called Kinheym and renamed their new settlement in Holland after their places of origin.³¹

In the discussion of Haarlem's history Ampzing followed neither strict chronological nor chorographical lines. In this respect, he was stranded, as it were, between the traditional poetry of the *stedenlob* and the new chorographical conventions.³² The author skipped between centuries, his topographical descriptions were littered with historical explorations and digressions. Moreover, it has been noted that the history of Haarlem presented here remained somewhat "flat".³³ Descriptions of events were described but were bereft of causal explanations; there was no sense of development in his story of Haarlem's

²⁹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 27.

³⁰ See, for instance, Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, poem page 163.

³¹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 23–24.

³² van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city', p. 274.

³³ van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city', p. 277.

history. Within the chronology two key events stood out: the siege of Damietta in 1219 and the siege of Haarlem in 1572–1573. Almost two-hundred pages of the book were devoted to the siege of Haarlem, most of it copied from Ampzing's fellow-Haarlemmer, Pieter Bor, whose treatment of the period had been published in various editions including his *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen* in 1621 (with additions to 1634), to which Ampzing referred.³⁴ The whole episode was accompanied by poems in praise of Haarlem's valiant resistance. Ampzing also inserted original texts, such as letters of the Duke of Alva, identified by the use of different typefaces. He also published lists of those Haarlemmers who had perished in the siege, of those who were excluded from the pardon granted by the Spanish after the town's surrender and of those who had been loyal to the Orange cause. This collection of different texts covering the siege also incorporated those events from the first years of the Revolt which had gained an iconic status and which had already been part of Pontanus' description. Through the use of different literary genres Ampzing reminded the reader of the events in Alkmaar, in Zutphen, Leiden and Naarden. The war was thus again (with the exception of the events in Zutphen) firmly embedded in the province of Holland. Ampzing's history of the war ended with the Pacification of Ghent, which ended the Spanish occupation of Haarlem and brought the city back under the protection of the Prince of Orange. More importantly, perhaps, the Pacification offered a general pardon and amnesty for those who had sided with the Spanish. Although not explicitly mentioned here, this clause was certainly of the utmost importance for Haarlem's citizens and the future of a city which had been dramatically divided over the uprising during the 1570s. For this reason Joke Spaans has argued that Ampzing's book was part of the city's policy of reconciliation between its different political and confessional parties. Not only did the substantial Catholic minority within the city have to be incorporated into a common wealth of citizens, but the wounds of the war, which had divided the city to the point that civil strife threatened to break out within its gates, needed to heal.³⁵ It is, therefore,

³⁴ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 105–300; Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor, *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen*, Leiden (Basson) and Amsterdam (Colyn) 1621–1634, vol. 1, book VI, pp. 276vff., book IX, p. 179.

³⁵ Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*. See also Joke Spaans, 'Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen'.

interesting to note where references to civic disunity were made in the text. The theme of civic discord was not addressed in Ampzing's poems and other reproductions of public texts written in praise of Haarlem's heroic resistance against the Spanish oppressors. On the contrary, in a letter regarding the siege by Hadrianus Junius to Janus Dousa, which is reproduced here, Junius specifically praised Haarlem's unity and turned a devastating defeat into a victory: Haarlem's heroic resistance had decisively shattered the Spanish aura of invincibility and in effect saved the Dutch Revolt, because it gave the other cities a much needed respite in which to prepare for further Spanish assaults.³⁶ Petrus Scriverius' poem *Op het Beleg van Haerlem*, also incorporated here, likewise opened with a celebration of the unity of the city, where men, women and children, civilians and soldiers stood firm in defence of Haarlem.³⁷ Civic discord was, however, mentioned in no uncertain terms in Pieter Bor's text which Ampzing also included. Despite his attempt to emphasize Haarlem's heroic resistance against the Spanish oppressors and his general aim to show a united city, Ampzing did not disguise the discord among the inhabitants. Even in 1628 the siege was still within living memory of some Haarlemmers and was certainly told and re-told to the children and grandchildren of those who had suffered in 1572/73. To deny such divisions would have, perhaps, been too far from the truth for many of Ampzing's readers.

In terms of competition with Amsterdam, Ampzing highlighted the rival city's allegiance to the Duke of Alva. The reader was informed, for instance, that after the surrender Alva came to Haarlem from his base in Amsterdam.³⁸ Amsterdam's ships defeated attempts to relief the city by sea during the siege.³⁹

The second dramatic episode, more suitable for the magistrates' programme of civic unity was also detailed in Ampzing's text: the siege of Damietta, covered over roughly ten pages preceding the account of the siege of Haarlem. The story had been well-known since the Middle Ages, but acquired a new popularity in the seventeenth century. It has been convincingly argued that it was deliberately revived by Haarlem's

³⁶ Hadrianus Junius, in a letter to Janus Dousa, reproduced in Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 259–260.

³⁷ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 265–266.

³⁸ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 231.

³⁹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 207–210.

magistrates as a symbol of unity in a divided city.⁴⁰ In the popularized version of events Haarlem had contributed a ship to the Fifth Crusade. The Crusaders' plans for conquest ground to a halt at the harbour of the Egyptian port of Damietta (Dumyât) which had been blocked with an iron chain. Haarlem's ship, equipped with a set of iron teeth on her keel sped forward and broke the chain allowing the Crusaders to take the city. It has been argued that this story could be utilized for the city magistrates' purposes, since it referred to a Christian past which was not divided by confessional strife. Ampzing clearly shared the city's view of the usefulness of the story for propaganda purposes. He incorporated a double-paged image showing the ship in full-sail bearing down on the port and reproduced poems and passages from the *Divisiechroniek* covering the event.⁴¹ The history of the Crusades, in which nobles and their men from Holland, Zeeland and Friesland had actively participated from an early stage, was generally not part of the cultures of memory in the Northern Netherlands of the seventeenth century.⁴² Aristocratic enterprises and aggressive evangelization met with deep suspicion in the United Provinces. However, the Damietta legend was an exception to this rule and was not only incorporated into the praise of Haarlem, but was also used to represent Haarlem's qualities to its Holland neighbours in different media: from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, for instance, a number of stained glass windows were donated by Haarlem to the towns of Edam (1606), Egmond-aan-den-Hoef (1633), Bloemendaal, Schermerhorn (1642), De Rijp (1655) and Oud-Beijerland. Each of them proudly depicted the Damietta legend.⁴³ In these presentations just as in Ampzing's book the emphasis rested not so much on the anti-Islamic goals of the Crusades, but on the unity of the enterprise and on the valiant contributions of Haarlemmers in a campaign, where the enemy remained to a great extent invisible.

Other areas covered in Ampzing's book include a discussion of Haarlem's many eminent men, its government and civic institutions, and the religious houses and life in the city. The most eminent Haarlemmers presented in Ampzing's survey were almost exclusively

⁴⁰ Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, pp. 128–131.

⁴¹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 149–159.

⁴² For the absences of references to the Crusades in medieval and early modern Northern Netherlandish literature see Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', pp. 8–10.

⁴³ For further details see Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée'.

musicians such as Kornelis Helmbreker, Kornelis Tymen and Pieter Marcuszen and artists, such as Maarten van Heemskerck and Hendrick Goltzius. He also mentions Dirk Coornhert and Janus Dousa.⁴⁴

This section is then followed by a long list of spectacular events in the city and its neighbouring area including beached whales, the capture of mermaids and mermen and other curiosa.

HISTORIA SACRA

In his coverage of the religious history of Harlem, Ampzing departed from a narrow description of the city to present a more generally Calvinist argument against the Catholic Church and its teachings. He set out to demonstrate that Holland had been christianized well before the arrival of Saint Willibrord and his fellow-missionaries from England, the traditional Apostles of Holland and Friesland. Instead he tried to demonstrate, that Christianity in Holland predated the papacy and that papal missions had in fact corrupted and destroyed an already flourishing Church, dating back to the fourth century.⁴⁵ Ampzing traced the beginnings of Christianity to the baptism of the Frankish kings and suggested that this would have affected Holland. Willibrord was discredited as a servant of Rome, although he came before the introduction of the indulgences, the Latin Mass, auricular confession and the celibacy of priests, in other words, the worst machinations of the papacy. He had, Ampzing suggested, perhaps acted in good faith. Willibrord and his missionaries were much discussed in Dutch historiography. While the Protestant camp could not incorporate the conventional narrative of their activities into an account of the christianization of the Netherlands without giving credit for the missions to the papacy, Catholic writers championed the early missionaries whose hagiography was adapted to the context of the Southern Netherlands, as will appear in Chapter IV of this study.

Ampzing also discussed Charlemagne, the second universal champion of Northwestern Europe and of early christianization. In Ampzing's interpretation Charlemagne, also known for his close collaboration with missionaries such as Saint Boniface, was partly rehabilitated by his role at the Synod of Frankfort (794), which, Ampzing

⁴⁴ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 344–373.

⁴⁵ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 418–428.

argued, dismissed the Second Nicean Council (787) and consequently the veneration of images. In Ampzing's interpretation, this verdict on images, supported by Charlemagne at the Synod was in line with Calvinist iconophobic teachings.⁴⁶ In a way, Charlemagne was thus transformed into a proto-Calvinist and was allowed to retain his prominent status within the wider history of Holland. In this part of the text, Ampzing resorted to the rhetoric of a minister:

Want (lieve!) is het Christen-gelove op Willeboort ofte op den Sone Gods gegrond? Ontfange wy de Religie van Godt ofte van de menschen? [Is (beloved) the Christian belief founded by Willibrord or by God? Do we receive religion from God or from man?]⁴⁷

What followed was a vehement attack on transubstantiation and the role of the mass, which Ampzing identified as later developments of the papacy and its servants.⁴⁸ Ampzing dismissed Catholic beliefs as superstitions fabricated to prop up papal power.⁴⁹ Ampzing's attacks on monastic houses are reminiscent of those advanced by Pontanus in respect of the religious houses of Amsterdam. They are, however, presented in a much sharper form, which betrays his Calvinist zeal, for Ampzing's vocation was not that of a historian but of a preacher of the word of God. Yet, while he harshly criticized the "Antichristische Leugen-teykenen en Satanschijn-myrakelen" recorded in a fifteenth-century miracle book devoted to the cult of Saint Gangolf, a local saint, he also denounced the plunderings and attacks against Catholics and their institutions by Dutch soldiers in the city in 1577.⁵⁰ It is here, that the Calvinist minister reverted to his role as an ambassador of the magistrates as he pointed out that the misconduct of the soldiers did not reflect the magistrates' policy or attitude towards their Catholic minority, and that, in fact, the city fathers arranged and supported a compromise based on freedom of conscience for all citizens of Haarlem. The process of the negotiations between the different confessional camps was recorded in great detail. Ampzing also included a meticulous account of the failed request by Haarlem's Catholics for the public

⁴⁶ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 427.

⁴⁷ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 423.

⁴⁸ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 425–428.

⁴⁹ I do not share Henk van Nierop's verdict that Ampzing's coverage of Catholics was moderate. Van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city', p. 279. See also Spaans, 'Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen'.

⁵⁰ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 443, 462–465.

exercise of their religion in 1581 which had been drafted by Dirk Volkerts Coornhert.⁵¹ Excluded from any compromise, however, were the Anabaptists, for whom Ampzing had nothing but scorn.⁵² Other religious minorities in the city, such as the small group of Lutherans, were not mentioned at all. The Arminian controversy, which had flared up in Haarlem's Calvinist consistory in the 1610s was only mentioned briefly. Clearly, these issues were still too close to Ampzing's heart and too obviously contradicted his message of unity to be presented in greater detail.⁵³

IMMIGRANTS

The aim of the study to provide an image of unity in a city, which had suffered from civic discord, but which had developed a multi-confessional life, had implication for the way in which Ampzing discussed Haarlem's population. Like Pontanus, he found it difficult, or inconvenient to incorporate Haarlem's large immigrant population into the urban scene that he unfolded in his text. Discord had already been part of the story of Haarlem's role in the Dutch Revolt; discord, but also diversity was also a sometimes painful part of Haarlem's confessional history. Diversity could have been an element in Haarlem's demographic and socio-economic history, but here, Ampzing refrained from highlighting the role of immigrants in the city, who were to a great extent responsible for the success of Haarlem's key industrial sector of fine textiles. Haarlem had started an energetic campaign to attract immigrants with the desired skills in the textile industry in the late sixteenth century. The city offered tax privileges, free housing (often in disused monasteries, which could also be turned into workshops) and free citizenship rights to prospective immigrants with the

⁵¹ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 465–483. It should, however, not be forgotten that Ampzing's harsh anti-Catholic polemic covering more than twenty pages (pp. 437–459) in which he criticized and ridiculed Catholic beliefs and practices preceded this episode. Ampzing was certainly not an advocate of tolerance in a modern sense and he did not envisage tolerance as a part of his ministry.

⁵² He recounted the story of Jan Matthijssen, the anabaptist prophet and activist in Münster, who was a Haarlemmer. Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge*, pp. 458–458. For an account of the religious life in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Haarlem see Joke Spaans, 'Levensbeschouwelijke groeperingen', in: Geziena F. van der Ree-Scholtens et al. (eds.), *Deugd boven geweld*, chapter 9.

⁵³ Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 483–484.

required expertise. Frequently, permission to work outside established guild restrictions was granted also to attract newcomers.⁵⁴ These initiatives specifically targeted immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, some of whom came to the Dutch Republic via their first exile in England after economic conditions and career opportunities deteriorated particularly in London during the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ However, attempts to attract skilled artisans, particularly in the production of fine textiles such as damask linen and high-quality tablecloths predated the uprising. Haarlem had pursued similar policies in the mid-sixteenth century, when, for instance, Nelis Cartier, a cambric maker from Cambrai had been given various privileges to set up his trade in the city in 1555.⁵⁶ Similar proposals were also made to Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.⁵⁷ Incentives to attract specialist workers were not only directed towards the south, but also to the east and to the west. Haarlem, for instance, managed, with a premium of 1,200 guilders, to persuade eight merchant-manufacturers in says and fustians to relocate from Leiden to the city, but the town also lost one of its foremost damask-weavers to Alkmaar.⁵⁸ The quality and the distinct designs produced by the immigrant damask weavers were internationally acclaimed and highly sought after. Religion did not play a part in the decision of the city authorities to invite specialist workers. Here, as in other towns and cities in the United Provinces, toleration of non-Calvinist minorities allowed an influx of immigrants based on skills rather than on religious orthodoxy. This part of Haarlem's economic life, however, was blended out of Ampzing's story. Although he provided a glowing survey of Haarlem's linen and damask industry and its international reputation, those working in the craft were summarily described as "burgers", which may have been

⁵⁴ For urban policy to attract skilled artisans see M. 't Hart, 'Freedom and Restrictions. State and Economy in the Dutch Republic', in: Karel Davids, Leo Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*, Amsterdam (Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief) 1993, pp. 105–130.

⁵⁵ For immigrants from England see, for instance, Lien Bich Luu, 'Alien Communities in Transition', in: Lien Bich Luu, Nigel Goose (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Brighton (Sussex University Press) 2005, pp. 192–210.

⁵⁶ David M. Mitchell, 'The Linen Damask Trade in Haarlem. Its products and markets', in: A.J. De Graaf, L. Hanssen, I. de Roode (eds.), *Textiel aan het Spaarne. Haarlem: van linnen damast tot zijden linten*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 5–34, esp. pp. 7–8.

⁵⁷ 't Hart, 'Freedom and Restrictions'.

⁵⁸ Mitchell, 'The Linen Damask Trade in Haarlem'. p. 7.

technically true, but was not the whole truth.⁵⁹ Ampzing mentioned, for instance, Haarlem's arguably most successful merchant-manufacturer, the Kortrijk migrant Passchier Lammertijn, who was recorded in Haarlem in 1586 with two fellow Kortrijkers as "merchant[s] in tablecloths",⁶⁰ but he simply labelled him a "mede-burger", a fellow citizen. Whether this was a deliberate strategy to create the image of an indigenous Haarlem society, which was responsible for its own success, or whether Ampzing saw the newcomers first and foremost as citizens rather than as foreign immigrants with desirable skills, is not clear.

It is difficult to say whether Ampzing's book was written for citizens or visitors of Haarlem. There are, as has been pointed out, some references to the wider world of the province of Holland. As a chorographical survey for men and women from further afield, or for newcomers to the city, it is both too disorganized in its presentation and too much the product of a zealous Calvinist minister to be wholly successful. Despite its rather mixed and at times indigestible content it remained the most prominent book on the city. As a historical-topographical book applying the new chorographical conventions to the praise of a city it was, at least in part, a failure.

In spite of his claim, that his ministry did not hinder his work as a historian, his Calvinist vocation overshadowed his historical expertise. Nor is this only evident in his digressions on the failings of the Catholic Church. Neither was he able to transfer his earlier poetry in praise of the city into the new chorographical form. He was, in one sense, the antiquarian, that van Nierop saw in the chorographical writers of the early seventeenth century.⁶¹ He was either unable or did not see the need to critically discuss and assess his sources. Apart from a cursory critique of Catholic, and specifically monastic publications, he connected the findings in the *Divisiekronek* with documents and letters without the application of a critical apparatus. Nor did this pass

⁵⁹ Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 340–343.

⁶⁰ See C.A. Burgers, *Passchier Lammertijn*, in: G. Luijten et al. (eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age. North Netherlandish Art 1580–1820*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Zwolle (Waanders) 1993, p. 309.

⁶¹ I disagree with van Nierop's general assessment of chorographies as "thoroughly antiquarian in approach". It is, however, an appropriate verdict on Ampzing's book. Van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city', p. 273.

unnoticed by contemporary readers.⁶² Even when he attacked the works of Catholic contemporaries in his critique of Catholic texts written by contemporaries such as Richard Verstegan and Heribert Rosweyde, Ampzing resorted to bluster rather than arguing as a historian with a keen eye for falsifications and outdated forms of scholarship.⁶³

THEODOR SCHREVELIUS

Haarlem remained a popular topic for chorographical works even after Ampzing's massive publication. Less than twenty years later, in 1647, Dirk Schrevel alias Theodor Schrevelius published another historical-topographical description of the city. His *Harlemum* first appeared in Latin, and was translated into Dutch in the following year.⁶⁴ Schrevelius was born in the city. He had attended the Latin School before embarking on his studies at Leiden University. In 1597 he returned to Haarlem and in 1609, he became rector of the Latin School. In 1620 he was dismissed on accounts of his Remonstrant leanings. He took up a similar position at Leiden, where he stayed and worked for the rest of his life. His book on Haarlem was, therefore, a product of his exile. The text, however, does not display any reservations or signs of resentment against the city's policy during the Remonstrant controversy. On the contrary, Schrevelius described his work as a labour of love and as a gift of thanks to his native city.⁶⁵ The Dutch translation, he informed his readers, had been produced in response to public demand in Haarlem for a more accessible version.⁶⁶ Schrevelius' book referred to Ampzing's study and followed in many respects the format set by its predecessor.⁶⁷ His work, however, was certainly more polished and complete than Ampzing's conglomerate of different texts

⁶² He was criticized by Buchelius, for instance, for his lack of critical analysis of the early sources on Haarlem's nobility. See Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, p. 284.

⁶³ See, for instance, Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, pp. 442–443, 413. Verstegans' *Nederlandsche Kerkelijke Historie and his Antiquiteten* are dismissed as "braveringe en blakeringe" and "Jesuwijtische vermetelheyd".

⁶⁴ Theodor Schrevelius, *Harlemum, sive urbis Harlemensis, incunabula, incrementa, fortuna varia etc.*, Leiden (Matthaei) 1647, translated as *Harlemias, Ofte, om beter te seggen, De eerste Stichtinge der Stadt Haerlem etc.*, Haerlem (Thomas Fonteyn) 1648.

⁶⁵ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, Voor Reden, p. 4. I have used the Dutch edition in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience Antwerp.

⁶⁶ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, Voor Reden, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Reference to Ampzing, for instance, Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 5, 348.

and styles. Schrevelius' *Harlemias* was elegantly written and he was certainly familiar with the requirements of chorographical writing at the time. The references to Johannes Isacius Pontanus in the last part of the book, in which he explicitly referred to the Harderwijker's study on Amsterdam, demonstrate that Schrevelius positioned himself within what had by this time become an indigenous chorographical tradition in the Netherlands.⁶⁸ His study was divided into six books, which alternated between descriptive and narrative elements. The first book covered the foundation of the city, her physical appearance and architectural landmarks and her early history including, again rather prominently, the history of the Damietta campaign. Book II was dedicated to the dramatic story of the siege of 1572/73, again echoing the prominence of this episode in Ampzing's work. Book III then took the narrative forward to the late 1630s and included elements such as the protracted dispute between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the city, Tulipomania and various pest epidemics which afflicted Haarlem in this period. The fourth book presented copies or summaries of the most important legal documents relating to the city, while Book V covered the political and religious regiment in Haarlem. The last book highlighted eminent citizens, but also discussed Haarlem's trades and crafts. In contrast to Ampzing's work Schrevelius' book was not adorned with images, except for a frontispiece, which highlighted the Damietta enterprise. Not only did it show the legendary ship with its iron teeth, but it was also decorated with the coat of arms of the ten Haarlem families, which claimed to be the descendants of the Crusaders.⁶⁹ As a device for unity in the city, Schrevelius' publishers apparently preferred the reference to Damietta over the narrative of the siege of Haarlem, which, however, took pride of place in the book itself.

The study did not offer an intellectual programme outlining Schrevelius' approach and methodology, but it is not difficult to detect his historiographical strategies in the text, in spite of the fact that they differed in the narrative and the descriptive parts of the book. In the

⁶⁸ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 350–351. Pieter Bor and Petrus Scriverius also appeared in his list of eminent men (pp. 351 and 348 respectively).

⁶⁹ They had also appeared in Ampzing's list of eminent men, *Beschryvinge*, p. 350. Schrevelius had married into the prestigious van Teylingen family, whose pedigree dated back to the tenth century. By highlighting the old Haarlem families in his frontispiece he engaged in a little self-promotion for himself.

description and particularly in the first book Schrevelius was keen to discuss his sources. He compared and contrasted, for instance, Wouter van Gouthoeven's *Oude Chronijcke van Hollandt* with Hadrianus Junius' work in his presentation of Haarlem's origins.⁷⁰ He referred to Willem Heda's study to underline the city's seniority over the other Holland towns (with the exception of Dordrecht).⁷¹ He eschewed references to Roman names in search of the origins of some areas of the city and focused instead on Scriverius' interpretation of "oude namen", old names, which were based on indigenous dialects rather than Roman derivatives.⁷² Indeed, references to Rome were restricted to the Prologue, where Schrevelius paid homage to the classical authors and particularly to Cicero and the "Schole van d'Orateuren", the School of Rhetoric.⁷³ As with Ampzing, the Batavian theme played no part in Schrevelius' discussion of origins and founders of the city, and like his predecessor, he applied a Batavian rhetoric only as an attribute of the qualities of Haarlem's medieval warriors. The "Haerlemse Bataviers" appear on two occasions in his account of the Damietta campaign.⁷⁴ Like Amsterdam's chorographers in the mid-seventeenth century, Schrevelius used the Batavian *topos* as a rhetorical device to mark the valiant qualities of their people.

Schrevelius employed various strategies to authenticate his findings. As an author he was very much present in his text and referred in many instances to his own recollections as an eyewitness to the events that he recorded.⁷⁵ He remembered, for instance, the traditional pro-

⁷⁰ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 2. Wouter van Gouthoeven, *D'oude Chronijcke ende de historien van Hollandt etc.*, Dordrecht 1620.

⁷¹ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 2. Willem Heda's History of the Archbishopric of Utrecht had been printed by Bernardus Furmerius in his *Historia Veterum Episcoporum Ultraiectiae Sedis & Comitatum Hollandiae Explicite Chronico Johannis de Beca... Et Historia Guilhelmi Hedae etc.*, Franeker, (Rombertus Doyema) 1612. It was republished posthumously in a new edition by Arnoldus Buchelius in 1643. Arnoldus Buchelius, *Historia Episcoporum Ultraiectensium, Auctore Wilhelmo Heda*, Utrecht (Joannes a Doorn) 1643. On Heda see Koert van der Horst, 'Willem Heda and the edition of his 'Historia episcoporum Ultrajectensium'', *Quaerendo* 33, 3–4, 2003, pp. 267–284.

⁷² Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 5. Scriverius and Schrevelius had both been pupils at Haarlem's Latin School and remained life-long friends.

⁷³ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 39, 41.

⁷⁵ His approach thus fitted well with the increasing prominence of authorial presence as well as the role of evidence as proof for historical truth in the writing of history during the seventeenth century as outlined by Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', p. 46. See also the introduction to this present study.

cessions of Haarlem's youth in memory of the Damietta campaign on New Year's Day, a custom whose memory, he pointed out, he might have shared with many of his readers.⁷⁶ His most dramatic eyewitness testimony, however, was given in an episode in Book III narrating the city's turbulent history after the Pacification of Ghent, when Haarlem rejoined the rebel camp. Here, Schrevelius recounted the events of Corpus Christi Day in 1578 when a mob of *Beggar* soldiers disrupted a Catholic service in St. Bavo's church, looted the building and subsequently went on the rampage in other religious houses in the city. Schrevelius had witnessed this episode, the reader was told, as a frightened six-year-old hiding in the church and had seen the desecrations, assaults and thefts. He was eventually rescued by his mother and fled the scene in horror.⁷⁷ Schrevelius not only appeared as a witness and as a commentator in the book, but also made references to his family in the city. He had married into an old and influential local family and proudly informed the reader that his wife Maria van Teylingen was the daughter of one of Haarlem's former *burgomasters*.⁷⁸ Episodes from the life of Schrevelius' own father, and his fate during the dramatic 1570s were also included to give the narrative a personal touch.⁷⁹ Transcripts and excerpts from documents were scattered throughout the text both in the narrative parts and, most prominently, in Book IV, which served as a kind of source-book incorporating statutes, orders and privileges granted to the city by the Counts of Holland. These texts were authenticated with references to the scribe (Johan Hoffman), the date of the collation of the documents (20 April 1644) and the archive which had been consulted ("uyt den pampieren van joncker Ian van Teylinghen, ons Neef"—from the papers of squire Ian van Teylingen, our nephew.). References to family connections were thus again used as a marker of authenticity.⁸⁰ At the same time Schrevelius incorporated what he described as edifying, exemplary stories thus paying tribute to the requirements of the Ciceronian School of Rhetoric mentioned in the prologue to his work. These stories were presented as little vignettes in the city's history highlighting the virtuous behaviour of

⁷⁶ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 41–42.

⁷⁷ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 158.

⁷⁸ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 269.

⁷⁹ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 147.

⁸⁰ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 218.

exemplary citizens and devoted housewives.⁸¹ Homage was also paid to rhetorical requirements in the narrative parts of the text. Both the Damietta episode and the heroic story of the siege of Haarlem were presented in a lively, dramatic form. Schrevelius used indirect and fictitious direct speeches, introduced dramatic characters, who acted in scenes which resembled stage appearances and incorporated exclamations such as “help God!” into his text.⁸² In this respect, Schrevelius stood very much in the tradition of *Historia* rather than *Descriptio*. Like Ampzing he drew upon the history of fellow-Haarlemmer Pieter Bor for his narrative of the Revolt, which he then enriched with personal accounts. The narrative thus moved between the wider history of the early stages of the war focussing on events in Holland, with the historical landmarks of Leiden, Gorcum, Gouda and Enkhuizen and the story of Haarlem itself. Very occasionally he ranged further, reminding the reader of other theatres of war, for instance, in Gelderland and Friesland, and mentioning the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II in 1576.⁸³ The key protagonists of these stories were not only the politicians and military leaders on both sides, but also the ordinary men and women who contributed to the war effort in Haarlem. Kenau Symonsdochter Hasselaer, a popular figure in Haarlem’s public memory, whose active involvement in the fightings during the siege was mentioned in, among others, Emmanuel van Meteren’s *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie*, was singled out for her heroic activities in adverse circumstances.⁸⁴ These various ‘grand’ and ‘little’ narratives were elegantly and effortlessly connected and provided an interesting and often very dramatic story for the reader, which combined the wider issues of the war with the details of Haarlem’s history. Schrevelius’ willingness to discuss his sources and compare different interpretations in the descriptive part of the text disappeared in the narrative, where he presented himself as an authoritative author. There

⁸¹ See, for instance, Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 4, “Dit sal ons doen gelooven een uyt-muntend exempel van sonderlinge trouwe ende liefde van een vrouwe tegen hare ghetroude man...”; p. 212, “Daer van sal ick een exempel verhalen, dat ghedenckwaerdigh is dat te Haarlem ghebeurt is ten tijde van de Pest...”, p. 130, “Heroyke daden van Bordet”.

⁸² Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 126.

⁸³ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 71, 152.

⁸⁴ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 93, 100. On Kenau’s role in Haarlem’s public memory see Marijke Meijer Drees, ‘Vaderlandse heldinnen in belegeringstoneelstukken’, *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 1992, pp. 71–82. See also Els Kloek, *Kenau. De heldhaftige zaken-vrouw uit Haarlem (1526–1588)*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2001.

was no room here for speculation or alternative versions of the past. Neither were there any references to his sources or to other histories of the Revolt. Here, as elsewhere, however, Schrevelius inserted transcripts of original texts, translated into Dutch, into his account. Occasionally he also referred to other texts apparently circulating in the public memory of the Revolt: he quoted songs and verses sung by both sides during the siege, and cited a famous quote from the brave German Colonel Jacob Steenbach, who, when injured during the siege, insisted on continuing the fight as long as there was breath in him, and a poem by Hadrianus Junius on the fall of Haarlem at the end of the siege.⁸⁵ The inclusion of oral traditions such as songs and personal recollections, which were passed from father to son underline the link between a “political memory” created of the Revolt and a “social” or “interactive” memory not fixed in historiographical texts mentioned in the introduction to this study. Schrevelius clearly found it important to include these memories in his chorography thus paying tribute to the existence, and importance, of a wider memory culture on the Revolt not restricted to the writings of an urban elite for the creation of an urban identity. By including these references into his study he turned—in the words of Aleida Assmann—memory into history.⁸⁶ The songs that he cited had also already been part of other texts about the Revolt. A version of the hymn “Christus is opgestanden”, which was rewritten with references to the siege of Haarlem, for instance, was printed not only by Schrevelius. It had also been cited in the contemporary texts of the siege, such as the Antwerp *Kroniek* of Godevaert van Haecht and in Willem Janszoon Verwer’s *Memoriaelbouck*. The text had also been published in a pamphlet attributed to Johannes Arcerius and printed in Delft in 1573.⁸⁷ In his own text, however, Schrevelius made no references to other sources. He introduced the song instead with a reference to public comments: “men seydt dat...een Lof-sangh ghesongen hebben” (it is said that...have sung a hymn).⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 93, 98, 99.

⁸⁶ Aleida Assmann, ‘Transformations between history and memory’, *Social Research* 75, 1, 2008, pp. 49–72.

⁸⁷ Rob von Roosbroeck (ed.), *Kroniek over de troebelen te Antwerp en elders van 1565 tot 1574*, Godevaert van Haecht, 2 parts, Antwerp (De Sikkel) 1929–1930, p. 224; J.J. Temmink (ed.), Willem Janszoon Verwer, *Memoriaelbouck. Dagboek van gebeurtenissen te Haerlem van 1571 tot 1581*, Haarlem (Schuyt & co C.V.) 1973, p. 26; Johannes Arcerius, *Historie ende een waerachtich verhael*. Delft 1573, The Hague, KB Pamflet 201.

⁸⁸ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 95.

While outlining the physical space of the city presented in Book I, Schrevelius followed the tradition of covering firstly the many religious houses, secondly the civic institutions of the city and lastly the homes of eminent citizens and the local nobility. Here, comparisons were made not so much with Amsterdam, but with the civic architecture in Leuven, Utrecht and Aachen. Schrevelius was clearly more interested in marking out the similarities between Haarlem and medieval centres of power and education rather than with the newly erected ‘merchant palaces’ and ‘cathedrals of commerce’ in Amsterdam.

In terms of a confessional agenda, Schrevelius, whose family clearly had Catholic roots, as we learn from his account of the violence in 1578, presented himself as a staunch Protestant with little sympathy for “d’oude superstitie”.⁸⁹ In other respects, however, he displayed a moderate attitude towards Catholics. Although, for instance, he described monasticism as an instrument of the papacy, which profited from a common ignorance of Holy Scripture, he praised the orders for their charitable work.⁹⁰ Like Olfert Dapper in the 1660s Schrevelius no longer felt obliged to refute the errors of monasticism. Its falsehood was no longer questioned, but taken for granted. From this perspective, however, Schrevelius was able to point out that in spite of the basic errors of a monastic life some good practices in charity had been developed which needed to be supported. More interesting, perhaps, is his account of the building of Haarlem’s main church, the St. Bavokerk. Here, Schrevelius went into great detail describing the sale of indulgences, which had partly financed the construction work of the church.⁹¹ This led him to explain the intricacies of indulgences and their use in Catholicism. An active knowledge of what had been one of the main issues which had triggered the Protestant Reformation in Germany, and which had affected Haarlem’s history, too, was, clearly, no longer seen as part of the common memory of Schrevelius’ readership. Schrevelius even felt the need to recall the once popular indulgence slogan coined allegedly by Johan Tetzels: “As soon as a coin in the coffer rings the soul from purgatory springs”.⁹² By 1647 the memory of the seismic events of the Reformation had become history. They were, at least in the eyes of Theodor Schrevelius, no longer

⁸⁹ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 22.

⁹⁰ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 27.

⁹¹ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 20.

⁹² Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 20.

part of a tradition that was orally transmitted from one generation of Haarlemmers to the next, but needed to be recorded and preserved by historians like him.⁹³ He also felt the need to explain other Catholic practices such as the ‘baptism’ of bells and the veneration of relics to his readers.⁹⁴ While Samuel Ampzing had found it necessary to refute Catholic authors and their belief systems, Schrevelius had to remind his readers what these practices actually entailed, before he could criticize them as the blind devotions of the misguided and ill-informed people.

When however he came to describe the siege, he did so without displaying any confessional bias. While the grand narrative of events after 1555 was presented as a fight for the Protestant cause, the story of the defence and eventual surrender of the city was not described as a war of religion. Schrevelius was careful not to highlight confessional divisions within the city, and even refrained from describing the Spanish occupiers in confessional terms. Instead he invoked “The tyranny of Alva” as the evil cause of the Revolt and hence of the siege.⁹⁵ The fact that this tyranny also entailed a militant and exclusive Catholicism that left no room for Protestant alternatives might have been clear to the reader; it was not however explicitly mentioned in the text.

He allowed more room for the discussion of dissent within Haarlem and notably between the different Calvinist camps when he treated the period of the Twelve Years’ Truce. In contrast to Ampzing Schrevelius presented the Remonstrant controversy, which had made such an impact on his own career, in great detail without, however, mentioning his own enforced exile.⁹⁶ Even here, as elsewhere in the text, he remained faithful to the agenda of civic unity, so prominent in the chorographical genre. In his narrative of events, in Book III, discord was largely ascribed to the incompatibility of various foreign Calvinists who had settled in Haarlem. Refugees from Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere brought their different notions of a godly regiment to the city, which collided with the vision of the local community and of the

⁹³ On the transformation from memory to history see Aleida Assmann, “Transformations between history and memory”.

⁹⁴ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 22–24.

⁹⁵ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 77f.

⁹⁶ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, pp. 180–198. His “departure” to Leiden is mentioned in Book III where Schrevelius listed himself—in the third person—as the successor of Schonäus as Headmaster of Haarlem’s Latin School. Even here, however, he gave no reason for his move from the city (p. 353).

magistracy of Haarlem and other cities in Holland. Order had eventually to be restored by the secular authorities. Dissent could thus be blamed on the interference of outsiders in Haarlem's (and Holland's) ecclesiastical and magisterial structures.

This is almost the only reference Schrevelius made to immigrants in the city. Like Ampzing, he ignored the massive influx of alien workers into Haarlem, yet this could have been easily incorporated into his description of the various crafts and trades in Book VI, where he discussed in some detail the branches of the textile industry in the city and their international success. This was achieved in large part thanks to foreign and notably Southern Netherlandish expertise and the transfer of these skills, but this was not acknowledged by Schrevelius. Only once—in a single half sentence—did he mention immigrants: when discussing the high quality of dyed products in Haarlem, he referred to improvements in the craft through the work of “d'uytheemsche die de wolle en wolle-lakens met kostelijcke coleuren verwen” (the foreigners, who dye the wool and the woollen cloth in exquisite colours).⁹⁷ Otherwise the immigrants only appeared in his account of Haarlem's society as members of the Walloon Church, which receives a brief mention in the last part of the book, when he presented various French and Walloon theologians, among them Jean Taffin, and their writings in his catalogue of the eminent local intellectuals.⁹⁸ Diversity as an asset of the city's attractiveness and (economic) success was clearly not on Schrevelius' agenda.⁹⁹ He acknowledged that the city was made up of men and women from all walks of life, but immigrants seemingly played no part.¹⁰⁰

Like Ampzing he concluded his book with a list of “Eenige gedenckwaerdige en vreemde Gheschiedenissen” (some remarkable and strange events) which had happened in and around Haarlem including stranded whales, sightings and captures of mermaids and other sea monsters. These he presented in brief, annalistic form without comment.

⁹⁷ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 394.

⁹⁸ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 336.

⁹⁹ On a more positive note, Schrevelius refrained from excessively harsh judgments of other non-conformists. He mentioned the Anabaptists only once and briefly when discussing the works of another eminent French theologian in the city, Pieter de Bon-temps. Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 337.

¹⁰⁰ Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, p. 396.

JAN ADRIAENSZOOM LEEGHWATER

More emphasis was laid on these curiosa in the last of the three Haarlem chorographies under discussion here. Jan Adriaenszoon Leeghwater is better known as an author of tracts on dike building and drainage projects than for chorographical studies. His famous *Haarlemmermeer-boeck*, in which he outlined the ambitious draining project of the Haarlemmer Meer, went through numerous editions until deep into the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ He also provided a popular account of his plans for the urban extensions to his native De Rijp and the neighbouring village of Graft in the north of Holland.¹⁰² He tested his literary talents in a historical-topographical description of Haarlem—a short volume which was published posthumously in Haarlem in 1669.¹⁰³ Here, he followed broadly the conventions set by his predecessors. Not surprisingly, however, he devoted much more space to the description of the windmills and waterways in the city, and to other urban developments of the late sixteenth century. These he certainly found more interesting than the eminent artists. He included a very short history of Haarlem with the traditional landmarks such as the sieges of Damietta and Haarlem, but gave greater prominence to the curiosa—mermaids and beached whales—which Schrevelius had relegated to the end of his book. Leeghwater also covered the civic institutions of Haarlem, her almshouses and prisons, but generally, his brief survey lacked any ‘master narrative’ or historical argument. It seems, that he felt the need to add a historical-topographical description to his other writings rather than providing Haarlem’s citizens with a new survey of their city. That Leeghwater’s study was well received might be deduced from the fact that his short text reappeared in the second volume of Jacob van Oudenhoven’s *Haerlem’s Wieg*, published in Haarlem in 1706. As a chorographical text, however, it did not add anything new to the existing oeuvre.

¹⁰¹ Jan Adriaensz. Leeghwater, *Haarlemmermeer-boeck*, Amsterdam (Stichel) 1641.

¹⁰² Jan Adriaensz. Leeghwater, *Een kleine chronycke ende voorbereidinge van de afkomste ende ‘t vergroten van de dorpen van Graft en de Rijp*, Amsterdam (Tymon Houthaek) 1654.

¹⁰³ Jan Adriaensz. Leeghwater, *Een korte Beschrijvinge van de Stadt Haerlem. Als mede een kleyne Beschrijvinghe van de Steden van Hollandt en Westvriesland etc.*, Haarlem 1669.

Like Amsterdam, Haarlem attracted a number of authors who provided the city with historical-topographical descriptions. As with the books on Amsterdam the style and content of these texts changed over time. Haarlem's first chorographer, Samuel Ampzing, offered a hybrid text which overwhelmed the reader not just by its sheer volume, but also by its multiplicity of different genres, which ranged from poems, through polemics and philological tracts, copies of letters and other documents to narratives of events in the city. Although Ampzing might have been aware of the more concise way in which his fellow-chorographers, and in particular Amsterdam's Johannes Isacius Pontanus had organized their material, he did not succeed in presenting a rounded book. This task fell to his successor Theodor Schrevelius, whose chorographical strategy and literary ability enabled him to produce a readable, attractive text. Methodologically, Schrevelius stood at the crossroads between humanist, rhetorical history and the advent of the new conventions of the *artes historicae*. As Markus Völkel has recently explained humanist rhetoric came to be replaced by the presentation of empirical evidence, in other words the authenticity of a narrative was provided by eyewitness accounts and by reference to contemporary sources.¹⁰⁴ Time and again Schrevelius therefore drew on his own testimony or on the accounts of family members as reliable sources. At the same time he used, in good Ciceronian fashion, edifying examples taken from Haarlem's history to give his readers moral guidance and examples of good conduct. In these texts Haarlem's identity was constructed with reference to a heroic past epitomized by the two sieges in which Haarlemmers were involved. These two events were presented as unifying the city in adverse circumstances, with no room for dissent, which was either edited out of these narratives, as in Ampzing's text or, as in the case of Schrevelius' discussion of the Remonstrant controversy, blamed on outsiders. To compete with the success story of its mighty neighbour Amsterdam, Haarlem chose to emphasize its leading role in the Dutch Revolt, because this gave Haarlem's historians the welcome opportunity to reproach its powerful rival. While the style of the books changed over time the

¹⁰⁴ Markus Völkel, 'Hugo Grotius' Grollae obsidio cum annexis von 1629: Ein frühneuzeitlicher Historiker zwischen rhetorischer (Text) und empirischer Evidenz (Kartographie)', in: Gabriele Wimböck, Karin Leonhard, Markus Friedrich (eds.), with Frank Büttner, *Evidentia. Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin and Münster (Lit-Verlag) 2007, pp. 85–112.

image that was created of Haarlem remained stable and did not see any significant additions or vignettes. Jan Leeghwater respected the parameters set by his predecessors, but devoted most space to the facts and events closest to his heart as a water engineer. To a great extent Haarlem relied on her past rather than her present when constructing a favourable image of a city, which was above all remembered for its contribution to the Dutch Revolt.

CHAPTER THREE

NIJMEGEN: CITY OF THE BATAVIANS

The last Northern city discussed in this study which received extensive coverage from historians and antiquarians is Nijmegen, a city with Roman roots on the eastern border of the Dutch Republic, in the province of Gelderland. The Duchy of Gelderland was a difficult partner in the United Provinces and had been a reluctant latecomer to the Habsburg acquisitions of the sixteenth century. The history of the province received much attention from seventeenth-century chorographers, who were actively supported by the provincial elite. The main authors and their chorographical studies of the province of Gelderland will be discussed in Chapter VII of this book. The present analysis focuses on the city of Nijmegen itself. The study of the texts written as a tribute to the city will add another important and colourful piece to the chorographical jigsaw of the seventeenth-century Low Countries. More specifically, the analysis of historians' presentation of Nijmegen will shed further light on the relationship between antiquarian and historical writings, and the development of distinct genres. As will be seen Nijmegen's frame of reference as constructed by her chorographers used parameters that differed from those applied to the cities in the Dutch maritime provinces. The authors of Nijmegen's chorographies in the seventeenth century, Johannes Smetius senior and junior, were again members of the group of university-trained amateur historians with an interest in their own city and with firm roots in the Calvinist establishment. Like Samuel Ampzing in Haarlem, Johannes Smetius senior was a minister at the main church in Nijmegen, the St. Stevens Kerk, and dedicated much of his spare (and a large part of his professional) time to the study of Nijmegen. Like Ampzing, he was motivated by a sense of gratitude towards the city magistrates and also by pride in his home town's glorious past. Smetius, however, approached his city from a very different angle to that of his fellow minister in Haarlem, and chose to illuminate very different aspects of the city's past when he eulogised contemporary Nijmegen.

The city could look back on a long and distinguished history. In the first century B.C. the camp of the 'Gemina', the tenth Roman legion,

had been established in the area between the rivers Waal and Rhine for strategic reasons, and the Roman garrison quickly attracted a civilian population to the surrounding area.¹ Under the Emperor Trajan, the name Noviomagum first appeared to denote the settlement attached to the Roman camp. Charlemagne took an interest in the city in the late eighth century and it became one of the headquarters of the Frankish Empire. Under his supervision a number of important buildings were constructed including the *Valkhof*, the imperial residence, and a smaller version of the cathedral at Aachen. In 1230 Nijmegen gained the title of Free Imperial City from the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. The city was ceded to the Duke of Gelderland in 1247 as a collateral for a loan by the King of the Romans William II (a loan incidentally which was never repaid). In 1364 Nijmegen joined the Hanseatic League and profited from the trade privileges of the network. It was also the most prominent city within the Duchy of Gelderland and the capital of one of the four Quarters, as the administrative units of the Duchy were called. Nijmegen suffered heavily in the Eighty Years' War.² The city changed its political allegiance several times: in 1576, when Gelderland joined the States party, then again in 1585 with her return to the Spanish side, and yet again in 1591 after she was retaken by rebel forces after which she remained part of the United Provinces. The war had caused extensive physical damage to the city and this had led to an exodus of wealthy citizens, either Catholic or Protestant—depending on the current regime. Nijmegen lost much of its economic power during the campaigns and remained isolated from its traditional hinterland in the south and east, which remained in Spanish hands during the war. As a consequence, the city magistrates tried to attract immigrants from neighbouring German territories to live and work in Nijmegen. When Aachen was captured by the Spanish general Spinola in 1614, there was a mass exodus of Protestant textile workers, many of whom had arrived there from the Low Countries only a

¹ For Roman Nijmegen see Willem J.H. Willems, *Romeins Nijmegen. Vier eeuwen stad en centrum aan de Waal*, Utrecht (Matrijs) 1990; Jan Kees Haalebos, *Castra und Canabae. Ausgrabungen auf dem Humerberg in Nijmegen 1987–1994*, Nijmegen (Libelli) 1995; Jan Kees Haalebos et al., *Nijmegen: Geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland*, Wormer (Inmerc) 2005.

² Jan Kuys, Hans Bots (eds.), *Nijmegen. Geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland*, vol. II, Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe Tijd, Wormer (Immerc) 2005; Maarten Hageman, *Het kwade exempel van Gelre. De stad Nijmegen, de beeldenstorm en de Raad van Beroerten*, Nijmegen (Vantilt) 2005.

generation earlier.³ Nijmegen profited from these developments across the border and offered citizenship rights and the free practice of their trades to these welcome newcomers.⁴ Another wave of directed immigration followed in 1655 when Nijmegen's magistrates brought skilled labour to the city by recruiting Mennonite weavers in the Duchy of Jülich and again offering them free citizenship.⁵

Johannes Smetius, minister, antiquarian, collector, archaeologist and historian was, with his family, part of this cross-border migration.⁶ Smetius was born in Aachen in 1590, the oldest son of the textile merchant Johann Smith, from Kettenis (south of Aachen) and his wife Maria Raets, from Karken, near Roermond in Gelderland. From childhood Smetius was prepared for an academic career. At the tender age of six his parents sent him to a Latin School in Odenkirchen, some fifty miles north of Aachen in the Duchy of Jülich. At fourteen, well before his parents had to abandon their home, he was sent to the *Gymnasium Illustre* in Harderwijk, where he studied the Humanist trivium. Here, he was taught by Johannes Pontanus, with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship and with whom he exchanged letters; it was doubtless the erudite historian who inspired Smetius to make a study of his home town. Three years later, Smetius was sent to the Calvinist strongholds of Geneva and Heidelberg to complete his education as a Calvinist minister. As a reward for his studies, his parents financed a brief Grand Tour through France and England before

³ J.M.G.M. Brinkhoff, *Nijmegen vroeger en nu*, Bussum (Fibula-van Dishoek) 1971, pp. 74–76, 78; Guus Pikkemaat, *Geschiedenis van Nijmegen*, The Hague (Sdu) 1988, pp. 136–138, 141–142.

⁴ From 1623, however, immigrating Catholics were excluded from citizenship rights. For urban politics vis-à-vis religious minorities in eastern cities of the Dutch Republic see Maarten Prak, 'The politics of intolerance: citizenship and religion in the Dutch Republic (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries)', in: Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp. 159–176.

⁵ J.A. Schimmel, *Burgerrecht te Nijmegen 1592–1810: Geschiedenis van de verlening en burgerlijst*, Tilburg (Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact) 1966, pp. 48–49.

⁶ This and the following information on Smetius are taken from: Sandra Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen, stad der Bataven*, Deel I, Inleiding, Nijmegen (Sdu) 1999. In collaboration with A.A.R. Bastiaansen and L.G.J.M. Nellissen Dr. Langereis has prepared an introduction, edition and translation of Smetius' most important study on Nijmegen, his *Oppidum Batavorum Seu Noviomagum Liber Singularis etc.*, Amsterdam 1644. The edition is based on the reprint of 1645 and was published in an attractive box set for the opening of Nijmegen's Regional History Museum *Het Valkhof* in 1999. The museum itself hosts a large part of Smetius' original collection and has arranged its exhibits around Smetius and his oeuvre.

Smetius started his first and short-lived ministry in Sittard, a small border town in Jülich, in 1613. After a short guest lectureship at the Academy of Sedan he came to Nijmegen in 1617. Initially, it was expected that the 27-year-old would simply spend a couple of months with his family in the city while applying for positions as a Calvinist minister elsewhere, but when Nijmegen's Calvinist establishment became involved in the Remonstrant controversies, a vacancy at the St. Steven's Kerk arose, and this was offered to the young minister, who had strong Contra-Remonstrant credentials. Although Smetius frequently complained to his academic friends about being isolated in this provincial, intellectual backwater, as he described Nijmegen, he stayed in the city for the rest of his life, marrying Johanna Brouwers, the daughter of a Maastricht printer, and dedicating his time less to his ministry, than to the history of Nijmegen. His Latin *Oppidum Batavorum* was published in 1644, and was highly acclaimed as the most important account of Nijmegen's history to date.⁷ Other publications on the city's past, and also on Smetius' remarkable collection of Roman coins and artefacts, followed. Although Smetius became actively involved in the politics of his church and in the attempts to expel fellow ministers with Remonstrant tendencies, he quickly developed his interest in Nijmegen's past, and particularly in the material remains of this past which came to light at every corner of the city. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in the neighbouring German territories, Nijmegen lost its main source of limestone, which was needed in the building industry. This material was now obtained in and around the city, and, as a result, digs unearthed numerous finds of ancient coins, objects of Roman everyday life, ornaments, small statues and jewellery. Smetius was fascinated by these remains, and once it became widely known that the minister took an interest in them, he was often informed about the latest digs and allowed to take the finds home. He began a coin collection in 1620 which had swollen to an impressive 10,000 pieces according to an account of 1678 made by Smetius' son and successor Johannes Smetius jr. Roman coin collections were, of course, part of the humanist and learned collector's objects at the time. What made Smetius' collection unique and, as it were, 'modern', was his insistence on presenting only material that he had found or

⁷ Johannis Smith, *Oppidum Batavorum seu Noviomagum Liber Singularis etc.*, Amsterdam (Blaeu) 1644.

had been given to him from sites in and around Nijmegen. Most of the coins had been of little value in their time and might just have been 'small change' that had fallen from a Roman soldier's pocket. This, however, did not worry the ardent collector. Smetius only bought additional coins from Italy to complete a set, but made it clear to every viewer which items came from Nijmegen and its neighbourhood and which had been purchased elsewhere.⁸ Smetius was eager to share his interest in Roman artefacts with academics and interested members of the public and in 1633 opened what contemporaries called a *pinacotheca*, an exhibition room in his house in Nijmegen's Kerkegasje. Here he showed visitors his collection kept in specially made chests of drawers and glass cases. This room was attached to his study which housed his equally impressive library of 1,300 titles. Over the years, Smetius was able to attract a number of high-ranking visitors, whose names were listed in his visitors' book.⁹ One of his most frequent guests was his friend, the politician and fellow intellectual Constantin Huygens.¹⁰ Huygens was able to persuade the *stadholder*, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, to look at Smetius' treasures. Smetius had hoped that he might attract the prince's attention with a view to selling his collection and to finance a proper museum for the coins and other artefacts, but his hopes were in vain: the prince was not interested.

Smetius was reluctant to send pieces of his collection to friends and fellow researchers. Instead, he produced drawings of the objects which he then forwarded. Some of these pictures also found their way into his books. Together with his son Johannes he composed a catalogue of his exhibits, which was published as *Antiquitates Neomagensis* by Johannes jr. at the printing press of his brother, Smetius senior's second son, Reinier, in Nijmegen in 1678.¹¹ After the death of his father in 1651, Johannes Smetius junior kept the exhibition open to visitors, but his own travels to France in 1658–1661, and the turbulent times of the *rampjaar* 1672 with the French occupation of Nijmegen made it difficult to maintain an open door. The whole collection was

⁸ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, Inleiding, pp. 32–33.

⁹ Gemeentearchief Nijmegen, Coll. Joh. Smetius, pater 6, cited in Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, Inleiding, p. 19.

¹⁰ Other notable guests included Caspar Barlaeus, Nicolas Witsen and the Count of Arundel.

¹¹ Johannes Smetius, *Antiquitates Neomagensis, Sive notitia rarissimarum rerum antiquarum, quas in veteri Batavorum oppido studiose comparavit Johannes Smetius, pater & filius. etc.*, Nijmegen (Smetius) 1678.

eventually sold by Johannes Smetius junior, who had no heirs and whose only brother Reinier had died childless in 1680, to the Count Palatinate in 1703.¹²

Collecting Roman artefacts to confirm the strong Roman presence and therefore the traditional importance of the city was one element of Smetius' interest in the history of Nijmegen. He fervently,—though unsuccessfully—lobbied for the establishment of both a library and an academy in the city. He also became a well known and widely respected author of learned texts revealing and describing Nijmegen's past.¹³ His most important book, the *Oppidum Batavorum*, had been commissioned by Nijmegen's city council, who had given Smetius a year's sabbatical in 1643 to complete what they saw as a distinguished contribution in praise of the city. The study appeared in Amsterdam in 1644 published by Johannes Willemsz Blaeu and was re-published a year later with additions and amendments. Smetius was awarded an honorarium of 300 guilders. This sum was not particularly high, but more important was the grant of a life-long pension of 150 guilders per annum for him and for his wife, an amount, which, in times when widows could not expect any automatic support after the death of their husbands, was generous reward for Smetius' efforts. The *Oppidum* was very well received in the academic world of its time: Marcus Boxhorn wrote a poem in honour of the work, which was attached to the first edition. Constantin Huygens, who also received a specially decorated copy of the first edition, composed a laudatory poem which was incorporated in the second edition in 1645 and Petrus Scriverius wrote a letter of recommendation including a poetic tribute of his own for the 1645 edition.¹⁴ Both Scriverius and Huygens were specifically mentioned in the last part of the book as specialists who had supported Smetius in his work and who shared Smetius' theories on the history of Nijmegen.¹⁵ At the heart of Smetius' study was an argument proposing Nijmegen as the first city of the Batavians. He argued that the settlement established next to the Roman camp, the remains of which were still visible everywhere in and around Nijmegen, was a Batavian

¹² Part of the collection was re-purchased and is now in Nijmegen's museum *Het Valkhof*.

¹³ A comprehensive list of his publications and epistolary exchanges, both published and unpublished, is given in Langereis, *Inleiding*, pp. 131–134.

¹⁴ Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, p. 227, footnote 109.

¹⁵ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 218–220.

settlement. He thus intended to contribute to the debate which had excited an earlier generation of historians, namely Cornelius Aurelius and Gerard Geldenhower, over the origins of the Dutch founder nation, the Batavians. The book was a long time in the making, and Sandra Langereis has carefully reconstructed its history elsewhere.¹⁶ The surviving manuscripts and chapter headings from the various stages of the study, and the correspondence between Smetius and Huygens, as well as between Smetius and Scriverius, offer excellent insights into Smetius' thoughts, and reflect his discussions and approaches both to the topic of the Batavians and to the development of the chorographical genre.

As early as 1628 Smetius expressed an interest in a publication which would contribute to the Batavian debate. In its initial form, his manuscript focused on the early, classical period of Nijmegen's past and discussed her medieval and later history in one brief final chapter. In subsequent versions, the coverage of the post-Roman period of the city, highlighting the theme of the 'Batavian liberty' in greater detail than first planned, was expanded to two chapters.¹⁷ Extensive references to archaeological sources were also included in the later versions of Smetius' manuscript, after he had become well established as a collector of Roman artefacts. What started as a discussion based on Tacitus' *Germania*—hence the subtitle of the book, *Quod ostenditur, Batavorum oppidum Corn. Tacito. lib. Hist. V, c.xix, memoratum, esse Noviomagum etc.*—gradually grew into a detailed and illustrated archaeological survey and then into a topographical-historical description of the city, updated to Smetius' own time. At the end of his book Smetius cited a letter by Constantin Huygens which poignantly summarized this development and which is worth mentioning here:

You have collected such a wonderful abundance of old coins and other everyday objects that you can persuade those who are not convinced by your beautiful Latin style with real Roman clasps, pierce them with pencils; keep them in chains, and, lastly overwhelm them with a whole armoury full of Roman weapons to force them to share your opinion and almost read on the ancient coins themselves, by the light of the ancient

¹⁶ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, Inleiding, pp. 64–68. The following arguments are taken from Langereis' research, which also provides archival references to Smetius' letters and manuscripts.

¹⁷ It has been suggested that this extension also profited from the publication of Johannes Pontanus' *Historiae Gelricae* in 1639. See Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, Inleiding, p. 64.

lamps, that only out of this city of the Batavians, by them alighted, Claudius Civilis has moved into Batavia.¹⁸

Huygens clearly understood what had happened during Smetius' working process: the beautiful style of a humanist historian fulfilling the requirements of rhetoric was combined with the presentation of artefacts in an altogether less elegant, but more factual, manner—namely, through detailed descriptions and artistic reproductions of ancient objects. Huygens also understood that Smetius' *Nijmegen* was relevant not just for men and women interested in their city, but that the arguments fitted well into the search for national identity in the Dutch Republic.

Smetius' intellectual programme can also be detected in his introduction, which brings together the various aspects and approaches of his research. Smetius had some difficulty with the dedication of his work, and eventually chose the somewhat unusual option of dedicating the study to both the States General and Nijmegen's magistrates. This strategy, which had been suggested by his friend Huygens, worked very well as it elegantly brought together the two strands of the study. While praising Nijmegen and her Batavian inhabitants, Smetius could at the same time praise the whole of the United Provinces whose members could trace their lineage, if not always physically, but certainly in terms of character, to the old Batavians.¹⁹ With quotations taken from Horace, Seneca and Tacitus, Smetius then gave evidence of his classical learning—only to criticize ancient scholarship on the Batavians as foreign and unreliable because it was not driven by the love of the fatherland, but by other motives. After this by then well-rehearsed argument Smetius suggested his own approach to the study of the Batavians, which was based, the reader was told, on a critical reading of what he called more recent authors, whose interpretations needed to be compared and contrasted in order to come to a well-informed conclusion. In a second step, these theories then needed to be supported and verified by archaeological evidence which was available to everyone to study, but which was currently in danger of being taken abroad or abused by ignorant people who did not know the value of

¹⁸ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 219–220.

¹⁹ Smetius' correspondence with Constantijn Huygens, 8 March 1644, in: J.A. Worp (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)*, 3rd part 1640–1644, The Hague (Nijhoff) 1914, No. 3484.

these 'trophies of time' for the construction and affirmation of urban and national identities. These last remarks were, perhaps, inserted to attract his readers' attention to Smetius' idea of a civic or provincial museum, which would have better facilities to house his substantial collection. Unfortunately, none of his dedicatees responded to this appeal. Smetius repeated his strategy in the introduction to Book I of the twelve books in the volume where he emphasized the discussion of written sources and the use of archaeological evidence in support of a debate which still relied first and foremost on textual evidence. He then used citations from Tacitus and other authors, often quoted *verbatim*, to launch a discussion of the Batavian origins of Nijmegen. The great humanist Justus Lipsius was cited here as a role model to justify this approach to the study of the past. Lipsius' theories about the relationship between the written word and material remains corresponded to Smetius' strategy and might have been adopted by Smetius after reading Lipsius' works. How much Lipsius had shaped the contact between chorography and archaeology will be discussed in Chapter V of the present study. In the current context, it is sufficient to highlight the idea that Smetius was certainly a very willing and eager recipient of Lipsius' theories and approaches, and applied them to Nijmegen.

The works of Ptolemy, Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny were also mentioned and then discussed in the search for the location of the first Batavian settlement. Closely connected with this was the question of the forms of settlement, or, more specifically, the degree of urbanization in Batavia: was there just one city of the Batavians or was Nijmegen just one, albeit the first, among many of the tribe's urban settlements? This again reflected an earlier debate between Geldenhouwer and Aurelius in which the former had argued for the existence of towns and villages while the latter had supported a vision of a rustic Batavian idyll. The question was, of course, not just a matter of town versus country, but had wider implications for the notion of degree of civility, which, for the clerk Geldenhouwer, as for most humanists, was related to urban society; the cleric Aurelius, meanwhile, viewed the growing urbanization of his own time with suspicion and worried about the corrupting influence of urban life. Smetius developed his argument in favour of Nijmegen as the main city of the Batavians in the first three chapters of his book on the basis of textual analysis and by way of topographical deductions in which he argued that landscape and natural resources qualified Nijmegen as an ideal settlement for the Batavians. Here, Smetius complied with the rhetorical requirement of

the classical *locus amoenus*, the praise of the beauty, delicacy and fertility of the surrounding area thus applying the traditional elements of every *stedenlob*, and which he could elegantly weave into his Batavian argument. Smetius' fourth chapter was then based on archaeological evidence, which he provided in a clearly organized manner. It has been noted that Smetius classified his Roman artefacts not simply according to subject area, but also according to the place of their discovery, thus attempting an early archaeological topography unusual for collectors of his time.²⁰ This strategy was now used in his arguments for the Batavian settlement. He divided Book IV into sub-sections relating each find to important landmarks in and around Nijmegen such as the *Valkhof*, the St. Steven's Kerk, and the Hunerberg. With this strategy Smetius not only supported his argument that Nijmegen had been important to both Romans and Batavians, but also established the date of the early settlement. This is evident, for instance, in his speculations about the place where a hoard of coins had been found, which he linked with an older sacred site. He also speculated about the age of certain coins found there and commented on an exchange he had had with a fellow-minister and amateur archaeologist Herman Ewichius from Xanten, another city which traced her origins to a Roman camp.²¹ The analysis of this find, in which he also, though vaguely, identified Celtic coins, then led him to a consideration about the pre-Roman origins of the settlement.²² The Batavian uprising, which was so frequently mentioned in other texts of the time, only received very brief coverage in Smetius' text. Although he claimed Nijmegen as the headquarter of Claudius Civilis, he did not expand on this episode, but merely mentioned it as a prelude to the subsequent presentation of the imperial freedom of the city and its autonomous status in later centuries.²³

The following chapter, included, the reader was told, at the request of friends, offered a survey of the Roman artefacts in Smetius' possession. Clasps and jewellery were described, accompanied by a double-paged reproduction of Smetius' drawings of some of the objects.²⁴ These drawings, together with a copy of a Roman bronze plaque used by Smetius to argue for Nijmegen's urban status in Roman times, are

²⁰ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, Inleiding pp. 30–43.

²¹ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 77.

²² Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 74–78.

²³ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 69–70.

²⁴ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, between pp. 42 and 43.

the only illustrations in the book, and thus further highlight the focus on artefacts in his argumentation.²⁵ The chapter concluded with a series of poems by Huygens, Daniel Heinsius and Rochus Hoffer in praise of Smetius' collection, and a response by Smetius to Heinsius. Again, this section might have been included to market the collection as much as to further the Batavian argument.

The second part of the book dealt with Nijmegen's fate in the post-Roman period. It was updated to Burgundian and Habsburg times and mentioned the Orangist take-over of 1591 as a key event in Nijmegen's and Gelderland's history. The city's position in the United Provinces was then further outlined. The main aim of this episode was to demonstrate both Nijmegen's seniority and her traditional rights as an independent city which did not bow to any duke or ruler other than the Holy Roman Emperor, who had given her the title of an Imperial City. Time and again Nijmegen was compared to Aachen in the Holy Roman Empire and time and again references to the confirmation of her traditional privileges, renewed by various emperors, but also by the States General in 1591 were included in the text.²⁶ This theme was also given visual form in the frontispiece of the first edition, which showed Nijmegen's coat of arms: the imperial double-headed eagle, adorned with an imperial crown with Gelderland's lion rampant inserted into its breast.²⁷ Under Gelderland's rule, Nijmegen remained the main city of the Duchy, but also maintained autonomous legal rights dating back to her Imperial status. Relations to the ducal house were strained and more than once the city resisted the expansionist tendencies of her rulers. This argument was supported by references and direct quotations from legal documents which, Smetius pointed out, he had studied in the city archives. He also frequently referred to the recently published *Historiae Gelricae* by his old teacher Johannes Pontanus.²⁸ The summary at the end of Book VII again highlights Smetius' aim of praising his city. His focus was not so much an attempt to insert Nijmegen's history into the history of the United Provinces as the dedication and the introduction to the reader had indicated; he preferred instead to

²⁵ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 55.

²⁶ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 104–110, 123.

²⁷ Nijmegen's crest was replaced by the Blaeu publishing trademark in the 1645 edition.

²⁸ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 21, 106, 107, 115, 126, 149, 171, 216, 226, 229, 232, 233, 234, 241, 246. Pontanus' text will be discussed in Chapter VII of this study.

emphasize Nijmegen's and Gelderland's links with the Holy Roman Empire while comparisons with Aachen were favoured over those with western neighbours.

Despite Nijmegen's impressive past, however, the history presented here was a history of decline, and Smetius could not—and would not—argue this away. He acknowledged that in recent years, due to the changing fortunes of war, Nijmegen had been overtaken by other cities in the United Provinces in terms of economic power and prosperity, although no other place surpassed the city in seniority and nobility. This, he argued, was clearly reflected in the status of the province of Gelderland in the official meetings of the States General and in the status of Nijmegen as the most prominent city of Gelderland. Although her present might be gloomy, her glorious past should be revered and respected, not only as the cradle of the Batavian nation, but also as an Imperial City with a strong and unbroken tradition of political and legal autonomy.²⁹ The last part of the book was again devoted to the Batavians and to the much-quoted 'Batavian liberty'. Here, Smetius repeated the well-known characteristics of the Batavian nation, taken from Tacitus and recycled by Hugo Grotius and others, as a freedom-loving, valiant and honest people. These qualities of the Batavians, and particularly their martial skills, were then used as a starting point for an appraisal of Gelderland's military traditions and expertise in earlier and recent wars. This strategy, which utilized the earlier theories of Gerard Geldenhouwer, provided an alternative perspective on the Eighty Years' War to Amsterdam's eulogy of itself as a peace-loving negotiator whose citizens preferred trade to war and only reluctantly, and as a last resort, took up arms against their enemies. It is here, again, that Smetius' compatriots were able to shine in a comparison to their otherwise so much more successful western neighbours. In a chapter on the Batavian cavalry, Smetius extended his description of the ancient tribe to praise the exceptional abilities and outstanding manoeuvring of Gelderland's horsemen in campaigns of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century, highlighting, for instance, the contribution of Gelderland's nobles and their men to the Orangist siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 and, most recently, their support of the Portuguese uprising against Spain in 1641. This noble tradition

²⁹ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 144.

of horsemanship of Gelderland's major and minor aristocrats, where both responsibilities and high expectations were passed from father to son, dated back, Smetius argued, to Batavian times, and far outshone the merely material riches of Gelderland's western neighbours—notably the Hollanders, whose abilities on horseback Smetius then went on to ridicule.³⁰ The proud reference to aristocratic military heroes contrasted somewhat with Amsterdam's glorification of the great admirals, discussed earlier in this study. Admiral Michiel de Ruyter had, for instance, been presented as essentially a civilian who disliked war and only used his naval skills in defence of the fatherland when all other options had been explored.³¹ For Gelderland's nobility, however, the social capital of honour was accumulated in the traditional pan-European way: on the battlefield. This emphasis on the martial traditions of the Gelderland in Smetius' text provides further evidence for a reassessment of Dutch attitudes towards military matters in the early modern period. David Trim has recently argued that the alleged Dutch aversion to traditional chivalric values embodied by aristocratic military leaders was, perhaps, less widespread than assumed in earlier historiography, and that the pacifist tendencies of the Dutch *burghers* were a myth nurtured by historians for whom the study of anything militaristic was anathema.³² In this context, the analysis of texts produced on the peripheries of the Dutch Republic, such as Smetius' study, provides a much-needed corrective to an all too hollandocentric perspective on Dutch attitudes towards military matters that was shaped by the maritime agenda of the main cities in the western provinces. Elsewhere in the Republic and notably in Gelderland with its traditional aristocratic strongholds, references to chivalric traditions offered welcome arguments to praise an otherwise politically sidelined area. That these traditions were presented in a book dedicated to Nijmegen's magistrates provides evidence of the close links between Gelderland's citizens and the province's knights, which have recently

³⁰ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 184.

³¹ For a discussion of Dutch naval heroes in contemporary media see Raingard Esser, 'Lo "Stadhouder" e il suo ammiraglio. Eroi di Guerra nella letteratura olandese del XVII secolo', in: Claudio Donati, Bernhard R Kroener (eds.), *Militari e società civile nell' Europa dell' età moderna*, pp. 681–703.

³² David J.B. Trim, 'Army, Society and Military Professionalism in the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War', in: *ibid.* (ed.), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, Leiden (Brill) 2003, pp. 269–290.

been highlighted by Aart Noordzij.³³ It also demonstrates that citizens were, indeed, proud to be associated with characteristics taken from the world of the military. The appeal to the noble military traditions of Gelderland's aristocracy in Smetius' text might also have helped to cover up the fact that the estates of Gelderland only contributed five percent to the United Provinces' war budget, compared to the sixty percent paid by Holland. If the quantity of Gelderland's contribution reflected the sorry state of the province's economy, then at least the quality of their contributions in terms of skills and gallantry could be and was highlighted in Smetius' comments.

Smetius included both open and subtle confessional statements in his text. He refrained, however, from polemics and comments on theological debates. His Protestant message was, rather, embedded in a survey of historical evidence which shifted the roots of christianization in Gelderland from papal missionary initiatives to an indigenous 'grass-roots' movement. Smetius mentioned the baptism of the Frankish king Clovis and his people, who were, in his interpretation, affiliated with the Batavians and had lived on Batavian territory since the retreat of the Romans. By inference, this made the Batavians early Christians of the fourth century, and thus christianized well before the missionizing activities of the eighth century discussed elsewhere in this present study.³⁴ Tacitus had noted a distinct refusal on the part of the Batavians to worship statues or images, in sharp contrast, according to Smetius, to the idolatrous practices of the Romans and thus allowed Smetius to present the Batavians as forerunners of the sober Calvinists of seventeenth-century Nijmegen, and the Romans as proto-Catholics.³⁵ Smetius also cited archaeological evidence for early Christianity in Nijmegen in the form of one of his finds, a gem with the Christian symbols of the cross and two fishes.³⁶ When discussing this evidence, he compared the bearer of the gem with the *Geuzen*, who, so he claimed, when confronted with Margaret of Parma's anti-

³³ Aart Noordzij, 'Geschiedschrijving en nationale Identiteit. Gelre in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen. Historisch Jaarboek voor Gelderland* XCV, 2004, pp. 6–48.

³⁴ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 102.

³⁵ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 168.

³⁶ Smetius might have considered this gem one of the most important finds in Nijmegen. A portrait of the minister painted by Rutger van Langevelt in 1669, probably after an earlier image, showed Smetius holding this gem clearly identifiable in his hand.

Protestant laws and given the insulting title *Geuzen*—Beggars—began to dress up in grey and to bring begging bowls to official meetings. This, according to Smetius, was a strategy similar to that of early Christians, who turned the diminutive name ‘little fishes’, a reference to their baptismal practices and commonly used to ridicule them in the early Christian centuries, into a trademark and badge of honour. The findings of the past could thus, in true humanist fashion, provide examples of good conduct. They could also highlight the link between the Christianity of late antiquity and the present state of Protestantism in the Netherlands. The parallel drawn with the *Geuzen* strategy was further exploited by Smetius to draw attention to the fact that several of the most prominent *Geuzen* hailed from around Nijmegen.³⁷

With regard to the chequered confessional history of the city, Smetius was eager to re-interpret and to eradicate any traces of Catholic practices—a strategy which, at times, bordered on the absurd. In his effort, for instance, to deny a common devotion to Saint Nicholas in the city, which found expression in a highly influential guild and a chapel of the same name, he explained at great length that Nijmegen’s citizens would certainly not have given the name of a foreigner from Smyrna—a city in a land that they did not know—to such an important corporation (in the case of the fraternity). It was perhaps more likely, he suggested, that Nicholas was a corrupted form of Claudius, the respected leader of the Batavian uprising against the Romans which had taken place in and around Nijmegen!³⁸ There was plenty of evidence, Smetius argued, of linguistic corruption in local place names, but there was certainly no room for a Catholic presence in his Nijmegen.

As has already been mentioned, in contrast to her western competitors, Nijmegen was presented as a city in decline:

Almost no other city has during the war, which we fight with the Spanish, suffered so much loss and misfortune. Because all those years she was in the frontline between the parties and had great difficulties in maintaining her status while surrounded by enemies and allies.³⁹

³⁷ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 174–75. Smetius specifically mentioned the Lords of Brederode, Kuilenburg and Batenburg.

³⁸ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 176.

³⁹ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 180.

Smetius also presented a number of key issues of urban life very differently from the chorographers of Amsterdam. Smetius pointed out, for instance, that until the recent war with Spain, Nijmegen had firmly closed her doors to immigrants and had not granted citizenship to anyone from outside the city except to those who married Nijmegeners and to outstanding scholars and intellectuals in cases of great individual achievements in the arts, science or other scholarship. For this reason Nijmegen had remained free from foreign influences and close to her ancient traditions and rights.⁴⁰ Nijmegen was thus anything but a city of migrants, although as an immigrants' son who had profited from the hospitality of the city Smetius might have been less critical of newcomers. Here again, however, Smetius turned what Amsterdam's chorographers had presented as a strength into a weakness, by outlining the danger of losing traditional rights and customs through an influx of foreigners.

The last section of the book offered the literary survey of more recent texts covering the Batavian question as Smetius had promised in his introduction. Here, Smetius showed himself to be an intellectual very much in tune with recent academic scholarship. He expressed his reservations regarding the so-called Pseudo-Berosus, a text commonly attributed to the Chaldean author, but which was actually forged by Anniius of Viterbo, and had had a mixed reception in the humanist world. He also dismissed speculation about the Cimbri and the Scythians as the early Batavians, thereby opposing those earlier and contemporary historians such as Vitus Winsemius, professor of history at Franeker and official historian of Friesland, Jacob Zuingerus and Henricus Henning, who, in search of pre-Roman origins in the nations north of the Alps, constructed genealogies by conflating biblical and Trojan ancestry. Instead, Smetius proudly claimed that the Batavians were indigenous and not the descendants of some venerable migratory tribe with biblical ancestry.⁴¹ Smetius, however, knew he needed to provide learned arguments for his dismissal of older theories so he looked critically at the different sources used by Winsemius, Zuingerus and Henning. These authors had relied on a Pseudo-Hunibald, a fictitious Frankish historian who traced Frankish origins to the Trojans and whose falsified texts had been promoted by Johannes Trithemius in

⁴⁰ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, pp. 175–76.

⁴¹ Langereis, *Johannes Smetius, Nijmegen*, p. 213.

the sixteenth century. According to Smetius, their reference to what he called “Gallic Annales” was less convincing than the Roman authorities he himself cited. After all, Tacitus had described the Batavians as indigenous and not the product of some ethnic mix of inhabitants and newcomers. Alongside his Roman authorities Smetius finally called on more recent authors in support of his argument, as he had promised. To that end Paullus Merula, Johannes Pontanus, Gerard Geldenhower (whose controversy with Cornelius Aurelius was recalled) and the Ghent historian Marcus van Vaernewyck were cited. Seniority and ‘purity’ lay once more at the heart of Smetius’ argument.

Johannes Smetius showed himself to be a thorough and serious researcher both in respect of his methodological rigour and of his thematic approach. He was well aware of recent developments in the writing of ‘national’, regional and urban history and adapted his own studies accordingly. He displayed a solid humanist training both in his knowledge of the canonical texts of the ancients and also with regard to ancient archaeology, which had thus far been mainly focused on Italy and, more specifically on Rome, and which he now transferred and applied to his home town of Nijmegen. He was an accurate and systematic researcher who scrutinized his sources carefully and used them with a critical eye. He was aware of the increasing importance of using archival records in historical research, as opposed to relying simply on narrative sources. He had chosen an important topic, whose coverage combined various subjects discussed in intellectual circles of his time. In the course of working on his study, a contribution to the Batavian question was extended to become a chorographical survey focussing on Nijmegen in Roman times as well as a discussion of contemporary issues which enabled him to position the city vis-à-vis her urban competitors in the maritime provinces. As a humanist author he covered what was required in a *stedenlob*, he surveyed the civic and sacred history of Nijmegen, and discussed her military organization, her laws and her culture, all of which could be conveniently connected to the Batavian theme. This association transformed his book from a straightforward *stedenlob* of a city past her peak to an appraisal of Batavian qualities which, although originating in Gelderland, as he and others had argued, offered a role model for the conduct of the Dutch nation as a whole. The model, however, presented a clear alternative to the ‘master narrative’ in Holland. Although utilizing the same framework of ‘Batavian liberty’, key elements in the success of Nijmegen and the province were construed as antithetical to those that

made Amsterdam great. Diversity was replaced by purity and naval heroes of essentially bourgeois origin and character were contrasted with knights of aristocratic birth. Moreover, Nijmegen looked east rather than west comparing herself both in terms of politics and architecture with the Imperial City of Aachen rather than the mercantile metropolis of Amsterdam. This orientation of Nijmegen (and Gelderland) towards the Holy Roman Empire was not a new development in the region's historiography. Smetius referred frequently to Willem van Berchen, Nijmegen's leading fifteenth-century historian, who had emphasized Gelderland's close ties with the Empire and Nijmegen's prominent role in the political history of the *Reich* dating back to Carolingian times.⁴² When he was writing, Gelderland positioned itself against the Burgundian rule. Smetius now used this argument against the overpowering influence of the maritime provinces and of Holland in particular.

Smetius' study was well received in the world of learning and among the political elite of Nijmegen and the Dutch Republic. His publisher, Johannes Willemsz Blaeu asked him to produce a text on the city for Blaeu's great city atlas, the *Novum ac magnum theatrum Belgicae*. This duly appeared in Amsterdam in 1649 with Smetius' Latin description of Nijmegen. This was a special honour, for Blaeu's atlas opened with the description of Gelderland because of its status as a duchy, and with Nijmegen as the chief city of the duchy. Smetius was one of a small number of contributors to be mentioned by name and his contribution, which came at the beginning of the whole enterprise, was indeed the first text to be seen by readers.⁴³

Throughout the text of his *Oppidum* Smetius referred to another study of the city which he planned, but which he was not able to realize in his lifetime. A Dutch chorography of Nijmegen, which borrowed heavily from Smetius' earlier works, was, however, produced by his son, Johannes Smetius junior, and published in his brother Reinier's printing press in Nijmegen in 1667. Smetius junior's *Chronyck van*

⁴² Willem van Berchen, *De nobili principatu Gelrie et eius origine* ed. L.A.J.W. Sloet van de Beele. The Hague (M. Nijhoff) 1870. On van Berchen see Aart Noordzij, 'The Appeal of Germany in the Duchy of Guelders', in: Stein & Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations*, pp. 111–129.

⁴³ Only a small minority of contributors to Blaeu's massive project were mentioned by name. Most articles, including those on prominent cities such as Amsterdam, Leiden or Haarlem, were published anonymously.

de oude stadt der Batavieren was dedicated to Nijmegen's magistrates and used a summary of Nijmegen's ancient legacy and the role of the Batavians as a starting point for a historical-chorographical survey in what was by now a standardized approach to the genre. In his introduction, Smetius jr. explained that the first part of Nijmegen's history in the text, up to around the year 1300, was still the product of his father's research, while the later history had been compiled and written by himself. Like his father, Smetius junior had trained for the Calvinist ministry. After reading theology in Utrecht and serving as minister at Ubbebergen and Weurt he eventually returned in 1679 to his native city where he spent the rest of his life. While working elsewhere, he clearly kept in contact with Nijmegen's elite. It is unclear whether Smetius junior was able, or even permitted, to use the city archives for his part of the study. In his extensive bibliography at the beginning of the text, he made frequent reference to what he called "Noviomagensium MS tabulae", but did not cite specific documents in the text itself.⁴⁴ Given the rich library and thorough studies of his father, Smetius junior might have simply relied on Smetius senior's transcripts and notes. Alongside his father's texts, which were referenced in his bibliography, Smetius jr. had used other recent works on Gelderland and the city of Nijmegen. These included Pontanus as well as Arend van Slichtenhorst, whose *Geldersse Geschiedenisse* will be discussed in Chapter VII of this study. Otherwise, his bibliography included the customary classical authors, medieval chronicles and annals, and contemporary or near-contemporary writers of Dutch and neighbouring German history such as Werner Teschenmacher.⁴⁵ Smetius junior's *Chronyck* was divided into two parts. As was only to be expected, the first book covered the Batavian history, the etymology of the city's name and speculations about her foundation. It then offered a topographical guide to Nijmegen's civic and religious buildings.

⁴⁴ Johannes Smetius jr., *Chronyck van de oude Stadt der Batavieren: Waer in (Nevens de Beschryvinge van Nymegen) de eerste oorspronck van dese Landen, de achtbaere oudtheit van dese Stadt, de voortreflickheyt van haere Privilegien, en de voornaemste Geschiedenissen van de vooringe eeuwen kortelick vertoont worden, Nymegen, uyt de Druckerie van R. Smetius, 1667, Aenteekeningh der Autheuren of Register van Oude en Nieuwe soo gedruckte als geschrevene Boecken en Papieren, die in dese Chronijck zijn gebruyckt*, n.p.

⁴⁵ The Elberfelder Werner Teschenmacher had been Smetius' fellow minister in Sittard. He also became interested in the history of his home region. He is best known for his *Annales Cliviae* etc., Arnhem (van Biesen) 1638.

Landmarks such as images and statues of emperors, and particularly of Charlemagne in the Town Hall, were included. Attention was naturally paid to objects of national interest such as the sword used for the execution of Counts Egmond and Hoorn in Brussels in 1568, kept in Nijmegen's Town Hall. Within the main church, the St. Steven's Kerk, whose architectural beauty and elegance were highlighted, it was the grave of Catharina of Bourbon, spouse of Arnold of Egmond, Duke of Gelderland (1439–1477) that attracted special notice. The description of the noble tomb, however, might simply have been copied from Slichtenhorst's work, where it was also given pride of place, not least as a marker of the international status which made Gelderland's duke an eligible marriage partner for a princess of the French royal dynasty.⁴⁶ As well as churches and administrative buildings, the *Valkhof* was described in great detail. Smetius also mentioned the schools of the city—he himself had begun his education in Nijmegen. After a brief survey of the industrious people of Nijmegen, which also mentioned their martial skills, Smetius then presented the surrounding countryside as a lush and fertile area with excellent agricultural potential.

The second part of his book provided a chronology of the history of Nijmegen, presented in an annalistic style with a time line of key events starting again with the Batavian history, which was extensively covered and supported by references to Roman coins and other artefacts. For the later history, Smetius followed closely in his father's footsteps. He dated the advent of Christianity in the region to the time of Constantine the Great, comfortably antedating missionary activity in the eighth century. In Smetius' history, Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, organized the bishopric of Utrecht and established Willibrord as its first bishop. This emphasis on the secular rather than the ecclesiastical rulers as the organizers of a Christian network was, as has been demonstrated, common among Protestant authors. Any involvement of papal Rome in early christianization could thus be denied. Smetius then went on to cover the historical landmarks already highlighted by his father: Nijmegen's history was thus embedded firstly in Carolingian history, then in the history of the Duchy of Gelderland. Recent events were updated up to 1591, and the confessional turmoil in the city was described in great detail, starting

⁴⁶ Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem (van Biesen) 1654.

with the first clandestine Protestant sermons preached in Nijmegen in 1555, and presenting the expulsion of Anabaptists in 1566 and the changing confessional regimes in the city.⁴⁷ The changing fortunes of the area during the Eighty Years' War, and Nijmegen's involvement were also described at some length, though without reference to the progress of the Revolt in the maritime provinces which had been a recurrent theme in the chorographies of Holland. The war in Nijmegen was very much a war in the east. Smetius jr. also considered it worth mentioning that Dutch rather than Latin was used for the first time for official documents of the city council on 28 September 1558.⁴⁸ He further noted the date when the first Calvinist ministers gained access to Nijmegen's churches and other facilities, including the former monastery in the Kerkegasje, which was turned into a vicarage and became the home of the Smetius family.⁴⁹

In contrast to his father Smetius junior placed less emphasis on the Batavian issue, but chose instead to highlight Nijmegen's liberties and the city's close relations with the Holy Roman Empire. He therefore cited Charlemagne's establishment of the *Valkhof*; the confirmation of Nijmegen's rights and freedoms within the *Reich* by King Henry (VII) in 1230; the alleged role of the Dukes of Gelderland in the coronation rituals of the Holy Roman Emperor established by the emperor Louis IV in 1339, and again the confirmation of Nijmegen's privileges by Rudolf II in 1576.⁵⁰ At the same time, Smetius emphasized the role of Gelderland in the establishment of the United Provinces. The events leading to and confirming the Union of Utrecht (1579) were presented here from a Gelderland perspective. Nijmegen was where in 1576 the nobles of Gelderland and the provincial *stadholder* of Gelderland and Utrecht, Giles de Berlaymont, planned to drive the Spanish out of the country. Gelderland's autonomous rights were—yet again—confirmed. So, according to Smetius, it was the *stadholder* who joined forces with the estates of Gelderland and the other states of the United Provinces to force Spanish troops out of the country and to promote 'True Religion'.⁵¹ His account ended in the re-establishment of the Protestant regime in 1591, which was hailed as a victory of the 'True Church'

⁴⁷ Smetius jr., *Chronyck*, pp. 128, 130, 141.

⁴⁸ Smetius jr., *Chronyck*, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Smetius jr., *Chronyck*, p. 149.

⁵⁰ Smetius jr., *Chronyck*, pp. 58–62, 71, 81, 147.

⁵¹ Smetius jr., *Chronyck*, p. 147.

and here, again, Smetius did not forget to mention the re-confirmation of Nijmegen's traditional rights and privileges. His story thus ended on a triumphant note: rather than lamenting the decline of the city, he underlined her independence, the important role she played within the United Provinces and the martial expertise of its inhabitants.

Though Smetius jr.'s book may well have helped him to attract the magistrates' attention and expedited his desired return to his birth-place as a minister, among contemporary academics, it did not receive the attention that his father's work had attracted. That was perhaps due in part to the fact that Smetius jr. lacked the academic networks of his father. In Utrecht he had been a pupil of Gisbertus Voetius, but had received academic training in history only from his father, who had died when his son was only fifteen years old.

The Batavian theme was happily adopted by Nijmegen's city magistrates. It offered opportunities to market a city which had lost her political and economic prominence and was overshadowed by the more prosperous cities in the west of the United Provinces. Pride in and the display of the Batavian past was, however, by no means limited to the "city of the Batavians". When Amsterdam's new Town Hall was completed and an iconographic programme which included scenes of the Batavian uprising was unveiled in 1655, Nijmegen's authorities quickly followed suit and commissioned a painting with a Batavian theme for their own Town Hall. In 1665 Nicolas de Heldt Stokade's *Het verbond tussen Bataven en Romeinen* was completed. It showed Lady Batavia and Lady Rome shaking hands while the gods of the rivers Waal and Rhine sat at their feet and the *Valkhof* could be seen in the distance.⁵²

The works of Smetius senior and junior remained the only studies solely dedicated to the city in the seventeenth century. Otherwise, Nijmegen was mentioned, as has already been indicated, only as a part of studies of Gelderland in general. As far as the city of Nijmegen was concerned, Smetius father and son were the leading authorities for the next hundred years.

⁵² On Batavian representations in the Netherlands, see: Exhibition Catalogue: *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk*, Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen (De Bataafsche Leeuw te Amsterdam) 2004.

PART II

THE SOUTH

CHAPTER FOUR

ANTVERPIAE ANTIQUITATUM

In many ways Amsterdam inherited Antwerp's mantle as the mercantile and financial capital of western Europe. The story of business relocations from the southern to the northern centre of commerce and trade, particularly after 1585, has been thoroughly, if perhaps still not comprehensively, researched.¹ Comparisons in terms of productivity, cultural expression, demographic diversity, and technical and scientific innovation in the two cities have been discussed in a number of recent studies.² Research into Antwerp's influence on her hinterland has provided further information on the city's role in the development of capitalist society and has highlighted the fact that both international trade and the establishment of an efficient economic infrastructure in the Low Countries in general were extremely important for the success of the economic miracle in the early modern Netherlands.³ While acknowledging Amsterdam's rise as the urban powerhouse of western Europe in the seventeenth century, historians have more recently pointed out that Antwerp's was a relative decline. The first half of the seventeenth century is now seen as part of Antwerp's success story, which began in the early sixteenth century. During Antwerp's 'Indian Summer', the metropolis remained an important commercial centre for the Spanish Empire and continued to act as an entrepôt for products to and from Spain's overseas possessions, a key function that she

¹ See, for instance, Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt*.

² Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*; Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom, Peter Stabel, 'Foreign merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam', in: Donatella Calabi, Stephen Turk Christensen (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, pp. 154–174; Angelo de Bruycker, Djoeko van Netten, "Zodat mijn verbanning tegelijk jouw straf is". Bloei, verval en migratie van wetenschap in de Republiek en de Spaanse Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 123, 1, 2008, pp. 3–30.

³ See most recently Michael Limberger, *Sixteenth-Century Antwerp and its Rural Surroundings. Social and Economic Changes in the Hinterland of a Commercial Metropolis (ca. 1450–ca. 1570)*, Turnhout (Brepols) 2008.

had acquired in the 1530s.⁴ The city also developed a reputation as an international art market, replacing her main rival, Bruges, in this role in the sixteenth century. Under the Archdukes and their successors, Antwerp retained and extended the high quality of its artistic output by such internationally acclaimed artists as Peter Paul Rubens, Jacob Jordaens and Antoon van Dyck. Here, as with other luxury consumables, the secret of Antwerp's success lay in the high degree of specialisation and expertise of its workforce, be they artists, artisans or entrepreneurs, which enabled the production and sale of high-quality consumables. At the same time the city also acted as an entrepôt for luxury goods from neighbouring areas. Antwerp served as a chief outlet for Brussels lace and tapestries. The city remained an important centre for printing and book production, which is predominantly associated with Europe's most successful printing press at the time, the *Officina Plantiniana*.⁵ Besides Christophe Plantin and his successors, the city in the 1570s hosted over 400 printer-publishers, serving an international market interested in all kinds of prints from chapbooks to polyglot bibles.⁶ After 1585 Plantin and his son-in-law Jan Moretus concentrated on the publishing of religious works, and the firm acquired the monopoly of producing all devotional texts for the Spanish Empire, including the large overseas market in Latin America. Moreover, through their branch in Leiden, the press was able to

⁴ Michael Limberger, 'No town in the world provides more advantages': economies of agglomeration and the golden age of Antwerp', in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 39–62. See also Herman van der Wee and J. Materné, 'Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in: Jan van der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, Exhibition Catalogue Antwerp, Hessenhuis 25 June–10 October 1993, Ghent (Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon) 1993, pp. 19–32.

⁵ The printing press of the French immigrant Christophe Plantin became the most successful publishing house in Western Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Plantin set up a branch of his press in Leiden in 1583, and with the help of his friend Justus Lipsius managed to secure the appointment of official printer for the new Leiden University. The printing press was left in the hands of Plantin's Calvinist son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius when Plantin returned to Antwerp in 1585. This provided the firm with the opportunity to respond to both the Protestant and the Catholic book market. For the relationship between the Plantin family and Justus Lipsius see Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'An Author and his Printer: Justus Lipsius and the *Officina Plantiniana*', *Quaerendo* 32, 2007, pp. 10–29.

⁶ Figures taken from Werner Waterschoot, 'Antwerp: books, publishing and cultural production before 1585', in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, pp. 233–248, here p. 234.

keep one foot in the non-religious market, and often used the Leiden imprint for texts which would be caught in the censors' net in the Southern Netherlands.⁷

Antwerp could trace its roots to a Gallo-Roman settlement of the second or third century. The town and the surrounding countryside were christianized in the seventh century by Saint Amand, the Bishop of Tongeren and Maastricht, who arranged for the first chapel to be built. In the tenth century Antwerp received the status of a markgraviate, a fortified border region, of the Holy Roman Empire facing the county of Flanders to the south. The emperor Otto I ordered a fortification to be built on the river Schelde in 950, which marked the beginning of urban settlement in what is now the historic heart of Antwerp. Godfroy de Bouillon, one of the key figures in the Southern medieval and early modern culture of memory, temporarily held the title of Markgrave of Antwerp in the eleventh century.⁸ At the beginning of the twelfth century, the emperor Henry V had town walls built which were only replaced in the sixteenth century. In 1406 the city was incorporated into the Duchy of Brabant, and formed, together with Brussels, Leuven and Mechelen, the urban heartland of the province. These towns were remarkably close to each other—a fact on which Ludovico Guicciardini remarked in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*.⁹ Travellers from Antwerp could reach Brussels in less than a day and would arrive in Mechelen in as little as half a day. These cities fared differently during the turbulent fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In contrast to Leuven, Mechelen and Brussels, Antwerp was little affected by the wars of the late fifteenth century. It was one of the few towns to side with Emperor Maximilian I against French claims to the Burgundian inheritance, and was rewarded with trade privileges which laid the foundation for its rise to economic prominence. This mutual support formed the basis of the close relationship between the Habsburg rulers and the city in the following centuries. As a consequence, Antwerp also experienced demographic growth from the

⁷ For publishing policy in the Spanish Netherlands see Paul Arblaster, 'Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands', in: Brendan Dooley, Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, London (Routledge) 2001, pp. 179–198.

⁸ On Godfroy de Bouillon see also Chapter VIII of this study.

⁹ Ludovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*, Antwerp (Willem Silvius) 1567, cited in Limberger, *Sixteenth-Century Antwerp and its Rural Surroundings*, pp. 25–26.

second part of the fifteenth century onwards. In 1437 the city had about 20,000 inhabitants, 33,000 in 1480 and 55,000 in 1526.¹⁰ The population then rose dramatically during the sixteenth century: by 1565 Antwerp counted more than 100,000 inhabitants, making it the largest city in Western Europe at the time. This population growth was based, as in every urban centre in early modern Europe, on large scale immigration of both highly skilled craftsmen and numerous members of the international merchant community, and of unskilled labourers and men and women from the lower echelons in search of a living in a prosperous and expanding city. Even after the catastrophic Spanish Fury in 1576 and the siege and capture of the city by Spanish forces under Alexander Farnese, Antwerp still had around 45,000 inhabitants in 1585 and by 1612 the population had risen again to 53,918.¹¹ The secret of Antwerp's success against its main competitor in the region, the city of Bruges, whose economy far surpassed Antwerp well into the beginning of the sixteenth century, was its flexible approach to supply and demand of trade goods in various European countries. Antwerp's geographical position on the river Schelde, with good connections to the main east-west waterways, meant it was eminently qualified as a trading centre for German merchants from the Rhineland and, increasingly, for southern German entrepreneurs who brought the much sought-after precious metals silver and copper to the city.¹² In Antwerp they met Portuguese merchants in need of silver bullion to pay for their Asian trade. Antwerp also opened its gates to English cloth merchants, who imported unfinished cloth into the city to be dyed and treated by specialist workers. Unlike Bruges, Antwerp did not need to protect an indigenous textile industry in its hinterland and therefore welcomed English cloth. At the same time, the existence of a rich mercantile elite and a wealthy middle group of citizens facilitated the development of indigenous production and consumption of luxury wares such as soap, lace, jewellery, tapestries, and paintings. These goods were not only purchased by the prosperous inhabitants, but sold elsewhere in Europe. As a result Antwerp became known for

¹⁰ These and the following figures are taken from Michael Limberger, *Sixteenth-Century Antwerp and its Rural Surroundings*, p. 62.

¹¹ For the later figures see Piet Lombaerde, "Antwerp in its golden age: 'one of the largest cities in the Low Countries' and one of the best fortified in Europe", in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, p. 100.

¹² See Donald J. Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries. German merchants and commerce in Golden-Age Antwerp*, Leiden (Brill) 2004.

its luxury goods. These developments and Antwerp's increasing role as a financial centre of the Habsburg Empire ensured the spectacular success of a city whose cosmopolitan make-up and outlook, and interest in attracting experts in all kinds of skills, made it the most dynamic metropolis of sixteenth-century western Europe. Its decline at the end of the sixteenth century was the result of many factors. The spectacular bankruptcies of the Spanish crown that began in 1557 shook Antwerp's role as the financier of the Habsburgs. The subsequent wars in the Low Countries severely affected the city. These led to serious demographic losses, while the siege of 1584–85 and the Spanish occupation shattered the trust of the international markets. Lastly, Antwerp's competitors offered better opportunities for international markets, while the fortunes of her traditional trading partners such as the Portuguese, who had chosen Antwerp as the emporium for their spice trade, declined. Portuguese traders were outmanoeuvred by Venetian, Dutch and, later, English traders. After 1585 the Dutch imposed a blockade of the Schelde which lasted for two hundred years and although this did not close the Schelde trade completely, shipping was subject to very high levies so that this effectively terminated Antwerp's dominance in overseas trade.

During its Golden Age, however, the city boomed with a building programme which drew its inspiration from Renaissance Italy; this was succeeded by the no less exuberant projects of the Counter-Reformation Baroque. The lack of a court in the city, and the relative passivity of the urban government in directing town planning, was easily compensated by the desire of the mercantile elite to have representative buildings in the latest style. The second grand architectural design in the city were its fortifications, for which Antwerp became famous.¹³ Under Charles V a fortification programme was inaugurated in the Low Countries which also included Antwerp's medieval town walls. As they were no longer able to withstand modern siege warfare they were deemed unfit for purpose. What became known as the Spanish walls, an extended bastion complex around the city with five monumental city gates in Renaissance style, began in 1542 and eventually completed in 1567 for the enormous sum of two million

¹³ Piet Lombaerde, "Antwerp in its golden age: 'one of the largest cities in the Low Countries' and one of the best fortified in Europe", in: Patrick O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 99–127.

guilders. This was paid by the city council, whose members hoped the prestige and safety of this heavily fortified city would attract foreign investors even in times of political turmoil.¹⁴ In addition the city extended its northern neighbourhood with a massive building project inaugurated and supervised by Antwerp's eminent property developer Gilbert van Schoonbeke (1519–1556). This area was designed for commercial purposes. It included an extension of the harbour, while allowing room for warehouses, stores, breweries and merchant buildings. A further piece of military architecture to attract widespread attention was Antwerp's famous citadel, constructed between 1567 and 1571. Once again, Antwerp's regents were prepared to fulfil the demands of the Spanish government for new and better fortifications. In a time of economic crisis, the huge development south of the city centre offered welcome and much-needed employment opportunities for Antwerp's contractors and their workforce. In terms of civic architecture, Antwerp's municipality invested in a new Town Hall, built in the Renaissance style between 1561 and 1565 after plans by the city architect Peter Frans and the artist Cornelis Floris de Vriendt. This monumental building again attracted much international attention and was copied on a smaller scale by Emden and Flushing. Only a few years later, however, the Town Hall was devastated by a fire during the Spanish Fury in November 1576. The infuriated citizens of Antwerp immediately responded with an attack on the citadel, whose Spanish commander, General Sancho D'Avila, had planned and initiated the mutiny of Spanish soldiers in the city. Thus, two of the most prestigious building projects of Antwerp were destroyed by fire shortly after their expensive construction had been completed. Before the Town Hall, the city authorities had built the new Stock Exchange, the so-called *Nieuwe Beurs*, in 1531. More than any other civic building in Antwerp the *Beurs* became a model for similar projects elsewhere, notably in Amsterdam and London, whose architects designed their exchanges in imitation of the Antwerp building and, in the case of London, employed Antwerp firms to carry out the building project. Private 'merchant palaces' in Italian Renaissance style such as the Hof van Liere (now the Stadscampus of the University of Antwerp), the Rockoxhuis, the Hof van Plantin and others gave the city an image of wealth and modernity. This was combined with a growing inter-

¹⁴ Piet Lombaerde, 'Antwerp in its golden age', p. 102.

est in improving its sanitation infrastructure and especially the supply of fresh water for private and business use. Engineers and architects left their mark in the city: the *homo universale* Wenceslas Cobergher (ca. 1560–1634) designed and executed spectacular building works for the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and the mathematician François de Aguilón, S.J. (1567–1617), together with Peter Paul Rubens (1580–1640) and Peter Huyssens (1577–1637), drafted and supervised the construction of the church of St. Ignatius (now St. Carolus-Borromaeus-Church) on one of the most beautiful Renaissance squares north of the Alps.¹⁵ After 1585, Antwerp was reconstructed and fortified as a bastion of the Habsburg Counter Reformation. The Archdukes, in particular, mobilized traditional and new communication channels to convey their message of a “Pietas Albertina” for the Southern Low Countries.¹⁶ They invested heavily in architecture and the arts and also revived old civic traditions such as public processions, *rederijkers* competitions, devotional fraternities and sodalities in a new Counter-Reformation guise.

These forms of creating Catholic communality utilized numerous media, among which the printed word did not feature predominantly.¹⁷ Neither Albert nor Isabella displayed a particular interest in academic studies, and in their support of theological works they preferred devotional literature to treatises and tracts and they collected liturgical objects and artworks rather than books.¹⁸ The Archdukes, however, did make some considerable effort to support chorographical works in the style of Ludovico Guiccardini. Chorographical output sponsored by the court in Brussels is closely associated with Jean Baptiste Gramaye, the official court historian, whose publications dominated

¹⁵ Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *Innovation and experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: the case of the Jesuit church in Antwerp*, Turnhout (Brepols) 2008.

¹⁶ Luc Duerloo, “Pietas Albertina”. *Dynastieke vroomheid en herbouw van het voorstelijke gezag*.

¹⁷ The classic account of Antwerp and the Counter Reformation is still Alfons K. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk. Antwerpen en de Contrareformatie*, Turnhout (Brepols) 1990. See also Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550–1577*, Baltimore (Johns Hopkins University Press) 1996 and Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585–1676): kerkelijke leven in een grootstad*, Brussels (Paleis der Aka-
demiën) 1995.

¹⁸ On the Archdukes’ Royal Library in Brussels see Margit Thøfner, ‘Princely pieties: the 1598–1617 accessions of the Royal Library in Brussels’, *Quaerendo* 30, 2000, pp. 130–153.

the market in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. For Antwerp, the two major works were the product of this period: Jean Baptiste Gramaye's *Antverpiae Antiquitatum* was published in Brussels in 1610; in the same year Carolus Scribani published his *Antverpia*, together with his *Origines Antverpiensium*, in Antwerp. Jacobus Le Roy's *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii*, which covered the whole margraviate, devoting about a fifth of the text to Antwerp, was published in Amsterdam in 1678.¹⁹ Daniel Papebroch's well-known *Annales Antverpienses* existed, however, only in manuscript form in the seventeenth century.²⁰

THE JESUIT'S VIEW: ARTISTS, ENTREPRENEURS AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION IN THE METROPOLIS

Carolus Scribani was the son of an Italian physician from a distinguished family from Piacenza and a Flemish mother of the influential Vanderbeeke clan from Ghent.²¹ He was born in Brussels in 1561. The family was well connected with the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands. Carolus' father Hector had a medical post at court. He also cultivated his close friendship with Alexander Farnese, which had its roots in their common Italian heritage. Carolus joined the Jesuit order in 1582. He held a number of positions at different places until 1593, when he became Prefect of Studies in Antwerp and then, in 1598, Rector of the Jesuit College. Like many of his brethren, he was a prolific writer for the Counter-Reformation cause. He was well known for his anti-Calvinist polemics and his meditations.²² When controversy flared up in the intellectual community over Justus Lipsius' publication of

¹⁹ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii, hoc est urbis agri Antverpiensis etc.*, Amsterdam (Albertus Magnus) 1678.

²⁰ F.H. Mertens, Ern. Buschmann (eds.), Daniel Papebroch, *Annales Antverpienses*, 5 vols., Antwerp (Buschmann) 1848.

²¹ Scribani's mother was the sister of Antwerp's second bishop, Laevenius Torrentius. For further biographical details on Scribani see Ludovicus Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561–1629. Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp (Ruusbroec-Genootschap) 1961.

²² A list of his texts, as well as a discussion of his works, can be found in Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J.*

Marian devotional texts, Scribani became the most vocal defender of the Leuven professor.²³

From various references in the *Origines Antverpiensium*, where he offered corrections and amendment to it, it seems evident that his second major text on Antwerp, *Antverpia*, was an earlier project.²⁴ The declared aim of both books was to present Antwerp as a model city. The title of the *Origines* clearly echoed an earlier survey of the city by Goropius Becanus, who had been commissioned to write a history of Antwerp by the magistrates. Becanus' *Origines Antverpianae* had been published in Antwerp in 1569, but instead of delivering the desired survey he had concentrated on the origin of the peoples in general and had used a discussion of the *Atvatici*, the first inhabitants of Antwerp, as a starting point for his more general etymological theories.²⁵ References to Becanus frequently recurred in Scribani's *Origines*, which might have been intended as a second attempt to provide the city with a history.

Scribani's publications offered an image of Antwerp's citizens as staunch Catholics. In his *Antverpia* he described various aspects of life in the city including schools, food and lifestyle, international commerce and wealth. He also devoted several chapters to cultural achievements in Antwerp covering the arts, literature, mechanical science and hydraulics. Rather than a historical-chorographical survey the book offered a sketch of the city at the height of its power in the sixteenth century. Scribani's attachment to the genre of the *stedenlob* was confirmed by a number of Greek and Hebrew poems in praise of the city which were added to the volume in a final twenty-four page section.²⁶

²³ On Lipsius and his writings see Chapter V of this study. On Scribani's defence see Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 526–527 and the literature cited there.

²⁴ See, for instance, Carolus Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1610, p. 75.

²⁵ Johannes Goropius Becanus, *Origines Antverpianae sive Cimmeriorum becceslana novem libros complexa*, Antwerp (Plantin) 1569. The theory of an Eden Dutch, which Becan put forward, was ridiculed by many intellectuals of the time. The etymological method that Becanus proposed, however, and notably the comparison between Germanic and Latin words remained a tool of historical investigation within both Catholic and Protestant historiography. See Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 174–175.

²⁶ The last of these poems actually praises Scribani himself.

While in the *Antverpia* Scribani did not adopt a chorographical approach to the topic, the second volume, the *Origines Antverpiensium*, was composed with strong reference to the genre. Here, Scribani positioned the city firstly in the context of what he called “Belgium” in its different historical borders. These borders were firmly defined as the traditional seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, seven of which had now been subverted by “fraud”.²⁷ Scribani then presented the Duchy of Brabant as the heartland of the remaining faithful provinces and finally focused on Antwerp itself. Here, he discussed the origins of the city, covered her royal, ecclesiastical and civic houses in the form of an architectural guided tour, made references to her international trade and to the large number of foreign merchants living there, and outlined in great detail the civic regiment and various institutions in the city. Both books were dedicated to the “Senatus Populusque Antverpiensis”.

The texts were written in highly rhetorical Latin.²⁸ They closely followed the tradition of *laus urbis*, but at the same time Scribani pursued a wider, Counter-Reformation agenda which often caused him to digress. Scribani frequently referred directly to Ludovico Guicciardini’s earlier work on the Low Countries, which had also lavishly praised Antwerp.²⁹ In many ways Scribani reflected the style and approach of his predecessor—not least by firmly focussing on Antwerp’s ‘Golden Age’.³⁰ Their authorities when treating the early history of the city and the Duchy were wide ranging and included the canon of classical authors commonly discussed in the humanist world: Tacitus, Julius Caesar, Amianus Marcellinus, Polybios, Ptolemy and Pliny frequently recurred in both texts. Besides displaying his knowledge of the classical authorities, Scribani also showed himself to be well-read in the medieval histories of the Carolingian and Ottonian age: Einhardt, Regino of Prüm and Sigebert of Gembloux were all cited. Later

²⁷ For this study I have used the edition preserved in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp: Carolus Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 15. The accusation of the rebels as “fraudsters” who had tricked the Low Countries out of their loyalty to Spain was a recurrent theme in Habsburg propaganda. See Monica Stensland, ‘Not as Bad as All That: The Strategies and Effectiveness of Loyalist Propaganda in the Early Years of Alexander Farnese’s Governorship’, *Dutch Crossing* 31, 2007, pp. 91–112.

²⁸ They have not been translated into Dutch.

²⁹ Ludovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*, Antwerp (Willem Silvius) 1567.

³⁰ See, for instance, Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 71, 75.

writers from several countries such as Albert Krantz, Paulus Aemilius, William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, appeared frequently as authorities for the Middle Ages. Scribani's texts were accompanied by a few engravings, which, in the case of the *Antverpia*, were clustered between pages 80 and 85 and then again between pages 118 and 123. The *Origines Antverpiensium* was only decorated with one 'bird's-eye' map of the city between pages 54 and 55.³¹ The choice of images is not surprising. The engravings in the *Antverpia* depict the architectural 'highlights' of the city, starting with the Cathedral and moving on to the Town Hall, the Stock Exchange, the Hansa House and, lastly, the citadel, in their sixteenth-century glory. Four of these images had already appeared in the 1581 edition of Ludovico Guiccardini's earlier survey and were based on designs by Pieter van der Borcht, who had worked as a draughtsman and engraver for the Officina Plantiniana.³² One double-paged map showed the diocese of Antwerp, newly established by Philip II. Since it included towns such as Bergen op Zoom in Zeeland and Breda in States Brabant, it paid no heed to the political borders of the Twelve Years' Truce, which had only just been signed when Scribani's book appeared.³³ This was undoubtedly a statement of the author's opinion on partition in the Low Countries, and this was echoed in the texts themselves, for all trace of the Eighty Years' War was edited out of the images.

In his approach Scribani was not only influenced by the requirements of the *laus urbis*; he also adopted the Renaissance fashion of weighing the ancients against the moderns, the so-called 'Querelle', to both of his texts.³⁴ The application of this technique is particularly evident where Scribani discussed the achievements of Antwerp's artists

³¹ The two volumes are bound together in the edition in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp. The choice of place for the double-paged engravings was arranged with the printer: the images have page numbers which match their place in the text. Surrounding text and image, however, are not immediately related.

³² On Guiccardini's illustrations see Henk Deys et al., *Guiccardini illustratus: de kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Guiccardini's Beschrijving van de Nederlanden*, Utrecht (HES & De Graaf) 2001.

³³ Scribani commented on the Truce in his *Antverpia* and welcomed it as a first step towards reconciliation between the two camps, although for him it could only result in a return of the Northern provinces to the Catholic Spanish fold. Scribani, *Antverpia*, pp. 137–146. See also pp. 30–31 in his *Origines Antverpiensium*.

³⁴ See, for instance, Robert Black, 'Ancients and Moderns in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and History in Accolti's Dialogue on the Preeminence of Men of his Own Time', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43, 1, 1982, pp. 3–32 and the ensuing debate in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*.

in the *Antverpia*, where he juxtaposed each of the sixteenth-century Antwerp painters with an ancient counterpart.³⁵ The importance of ancient precedent remained clearly visible throughout. He adhered to the humanist agenda for *Historia*, setting out to move and to edify the reader with exemplary stories and tales of heroic role models. At the same time, the text reflected the influence of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* on Scribani with its appeal to the emotions of its readers (or practitioners). This is particularly evident when Scribani discussed the art works produced in the city. His vocabulary here firmly emphasized that the purpose of art was to move its viewers rather than merely to appeal to their intellect.³⁶

Scribani dwelt at length on heroic individuals and dramatic stories, especially when he described Brabant in the *Origines Antverpiensium*.³⁷ The history of the Duchy was presented through the changing fortunes of its various overlords. By so doing Scribani could highlight continuity rather than change in the politics of the Duchy. It also offered a convincing strategy for his focus on the activities of one of the most eminent heroes in Brabantine and, indeed, European history of the time namely Godfrey de Bouillon, whose fame rested on his leading role in the First Crusade, which gained him the title of 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre'. Although he was also mentioned as Markgrave of Antwerp, a title bestowed by the future Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV in 1076, it was his involvement in the Crusade which received most attention in Scribani's text.³⁸ Scribani's survey of Brabant's rulers ended with a digression into what he called European history, but which was chiefly an appraisal of the First Crusade and the achievements of Godfrey and his brother and successor Baldwin, the first King of Jerusalem. He took the story from William of Malmesbury, who had written an account of the First Crusade in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and from William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.³⁹ Both texts were acknowledged in Scribani's study. The

³⁵ Julius S. Held, 'Carolus Scribanus' Observations on Art in Antwerp', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29, 1996, pp. 174–204. Scribani deliberately restricted himself to painters and sculptors who were already dead, thus trying, he argued, to avoid raising envy and competition amongst contemporary artists.

³⁶ Held, 'Carolus Scribanus' Observations on Art in Antwerp.

³⁷ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, Brabantia, Fortia provincia etc., pp. 31–49.

³⁸ For the markgraviate see Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 67–69.

³⁹ William of Malmesbury: *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Deeds of the English Kings), Vol. I, Edited and Translated by R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford (Oxford University Press)

valour of the Crusaders which were emphasized in Scribani's account also gave him the opportunity to expatiate on the courage of the Antwerpenaars who, as vassals of Godfroy, had accompanied him on his journey to the Holy Land. Moreover, Scribani exploited the episode for a general appraisal of the campaigns waged by Christian, and notably Brabantine, rulers from Charles Martel to Charles V, against the "Mahumetana", the followers of the prophet Mohammed.⁴⁰ In this survey of Christian campaigns against Muslims he often referred to the First Book of the Maccabees, which Scribani saw as mirroring efforts of the Crusaders for the restoration of Christianity in the Holy Land.⁴¹ References to Maccabees 1:5 were accompanied by references to the Book of Wisdom. Scribani thus deliberately quoted two apocryphal texts which had been hotly debated at the Council of Trent, and which were rejected by the Protestant camp. They were certainly included here to state the author's position in this debate. Scribani also combined the story of the First Crusade and its references to these texts with a strong statement in support of the role of the papacy and ended the chapter with an attack on Lutherans, Calvinists and Mennonites as the enemies of the 'True Church'.⁴² By including in this indirect way the Crusades in the history of Antwerp, through Markgrave Godfroy, Scribani developed a very different agenda about the Crusades from the way in which the topic was treated in Northern chorographies. In the case of Haarlem the town's involvement in the siege of Damietta had been used to emphasize unity in adversity and had left only a subsidiary role for the perceived enemy. In Scribani's text, however, the Crusades were one example of the endeavours of the rulers of Brabant to fight against the foes of ('true') Christianity. Saracens, Turks and Ottomans were named as the enemies, while on the Christian side, a group of heroic defenders of the Faith, ranging from the rank and file of the Carolingian to the Habsburg dynasties, was mobilized. The Islamic enemies of the 'True Church' were then complemented by the three 'heretical sects' of Scribani's time: the Lutherans, the Calvinists

1998. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, New York (Columbia University Press) 1943.

⁴⁰ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 39–49.

⁴¹ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 47, 48.

⁴² Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 47, 48.

and the Mennonities, who, in his view, posed a similar threat to the Church, and who needed to be fought with no less vigour.

The style of this chapter was highly rhetorical and clearly intended to give the reader edifying examples supported by passages of Scripture, rather than simply informing them about the virtuous activities of their ancestors in the wider world. Moreover, Godfroy de Bouillon was not only a hero of Brabant and the Duchy's 'favourite ancestor', but he also featured as one of the Nine Worthies, a medieval pantheon of the most famous personages of ancient Jewish, classical and medieval Christian history.⁴³ Scribani could certainly expect his readers to be familiar with this tradition and he made the First Crusade to be the single most important event in the history of the wider world beyond Antwerp's walls.

Where dates appeared elsewhere in the *Origines*, especially those marking the foundation of religious houses, they were bound up with the survey of the city itself, covered in Chapters VII to XIV. Here, perhaps not surprisingly, Scribani highlighted the importance of the monastic orders and of Saint Willibrord in particular, for the development of Antwerp as an urban centre. In many respects Willibrord became both the key witness and the initiator of Antwerp's rise to greatness in Scribani's text. His testament, for instance, was cited at great length in Chapter V, where Scribani discussed the various theories of the origins of the city.⁴⁴ Strictly speaking, Willibrord's testament does not shed any light on the origins of the city other than to testify to the existence of a monastery at the site, which he had founded in his lifetime. The text, however, might have been included for other purposes. Scribani actively supported the scholarly development of a 'critical hagiography' which, through rigorous research and the strict application of critical philology, answered the Protestant criticism that the Catholic Church gave unquestioning acceptance to hagiographical accounts. The use of authentic documents relating to the lives of the

⁴³ Wim van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer. De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700)*, Amsterdam, (Amsterdam University Press) 1997. The inclusion of Godfroy de Bouillon as the third Christian hero next to King Arthur and Charlemagne, was inspired by the Fall of Acre in 1291. News of this event had sent shockwaves through Christian Europe and caused a boom in literature on the Crusades and the Holy Land, which also brought Godfroy into public memory.

⁴⁴ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 59ff.

saints was an essential tool of this approach. It is in this context, that Scribani's use of Willibrord's testament should be understood.⁴⁵

Otherwise Scribani was rather vague about the origins of Antwerp. He dismissed the popular origin myth of a giant, Druoon Antiguon, who had guarded the Schelde where Antwerp grew up and who had been defeated by a valiant Roman soldier called Silvius Brabo who cut off the giant's hands. This story offered a far-fetched etymological explanation for the city's name as "hant-werpen", the throwing of hands, which also found its iconographical echo in the city's coat of arms. Brabo remained a popular founding father in the self-representation of the city, but on initiative of the Jesuits, in a highly symbolic gesture, he was eventually replaced as the central figure of the new Town Hall by the protectress of the Habsburgs, the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1587.⁴⁶ For Scribani, the most likely explanation for the origins of the name of the city had been given by Becanus, but he himself expressly refrained from discussing any etymological theories.⁴⁷

Willibrord reappeared again as an initiator and supporter of the establishment of the *Burchtkerk*, the church in the city's early fortification, which was named after Saint Walburga.⁴⁸ Scribani thus contributed to the general strategy of the Jesuits to appropriate Willibrord, who had been bishop of Utrecht, for the Southern Netherlands and established a strong hagiographical tradition around the early English missionary. This Counter-Reformation strategy of representing the continuity of the 'True Church' was also visible in other media in the Low Countries at the time. The popular Whitsun procession in Antwerp, for instance, also appropriated Saint Willibrord as the Catholic saint of the Southern Netherlands.⁴⁹ Throughout the texts Willibrord was accompanied by the city's earlier patron, Saint Eligius, who

⁴⁵ Scribani was also interested in the most prominent project of 'critical hagiography', the *Acta Sanctorum* inaugurated by his fellow Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde, Gottfriedus Henschenius and Johannes Bolland, which had its first headquarters in Antwerp. See Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Versuch zum Werk der Bollandisten*, Tübingen (Niemeyer) 2009.

⁴⁶ On the iconography of Antwerp's Town Hall see Holm Bevers, *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561–1565). Architektur und Figurenprogramm*, Hildesheim (Olms) 1985. See also Margit Thófnér, *A Common Art*.

⁴⁷ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 67.

⁴⁸ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 87.

⁴⁹ On the use of Saint Willibrord in public processions in Antwerp see Margit Thófnér, *A Common Art*, pp. 248–249.

was mentioned in connection with the establishment of the *Burchtkerk* as an earlier missionary to the area. Here, Scribani reminded his readers, that according to Eligius' biographer, Saint Audoënus, Eligius had been the first to convert the "Flandrenses, Andoverpienses, Frisones" and "Suevos", who had lived in the vicinity of Antwerp.⁵⁰ More than Willibord, Saint Eligius was one of the most eminent saints in the city, whose role as the patron saint of gold and silversmiths ensured his presence on altarpieces in many of Antwerp's churches.⁵¹ This, however, was not the role that he played for Scribani who highlighted his missionary activities in the city rather than his expertise with precious metals. His frequent appearances in the text served two purposes: they paid homage to the role that the saint played in the spiritual world of the city, and they also reminded the reader not only of the missionizing agenda of the Jesuits, one which had been confirmed in a meeting between Alexander Farnese and members of the order in Leuven in November 1585, but also of the Counter-Reformation task of the faithful in the Southern Netherlands. In a similar way, Scribani made references to the other notable patroness of the city, Saint Walburga, who also appeared frequently in the text.⁵² Again, the inclusion of Saint Walburga was a direct reference to another sacred figure of the city, one which had been publicly acknowledged by the Archdukes, who when they visited her shrine in the *Burchtkerk* in 1615 kissed the recently discovered relics of the saint. At the same time, Walburga again reminded the readers of their missionary tasks in the Low Countries. Scribani might have been aware of the fact that while he was writing his book, Peter Paul Rubens was working on his monumental painting *The Raising of the Cross*, commissioned for the *Burchtkerk* in 1609, which depicted the two saints, together with Saint Amandus, another notable early missionary of the Low Countries with connections to Antwerp, and with Saint Catherine of Alexandria.⁵³

⁵⁰ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 58. Scribani made references to Audoënus, *Vita Sancti Eligii*, 670 and herein to Book 2, 3.

⁵¹ The most prominent artistic display of the veneration of the Saint Eligius can be found in Antwerp's St. Andries Kerk, where a stunningly beautiful and grand altarpiece by the city's famous artist Maarten de Vos had been unveiled only nine years prior to Scribani's publication. This image replaced earlier versions of the theme, which had suffered during the Iconoclastic Fury in the city.

⁵² Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 69, 87.

⁵³ Saint Catherine had no obvious connections to the city, but had been included because her bones were considered to produce an oil with healing powers, which matched the sacred powers of the relics of Saint Walburga. On Ruben's altarpiece see

Remarkably Scribani made no reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose presence in the city was so forcefully promoted by the Archdukes, and who featured prominently in later chorographical works, for instance, by Antonius Sanderus.⁵⁴ Given that the historical focus of his work was on the sixteenth century, Scribani might have preferred to remind his readers of their own traditions rather than invoking all too directly the allegiance to the Habsburgs at this stage. Willibrord reappeared again together with a group of eminent saints in the last chapter of the text, called “Votum pro Republica”, but which was first and foremost an appeal to “Belgica fide”, the Belgian faith.⁵⁵ Here, again, the triad of the Lutherans, Calvinists and Mennonites was challenged by Scribani, who involved a whole regiment of Catholic saints some with close and others with not so close links to the Low Countries. They testified to the unbroken tradition of the Catholic Church which underpinned the historiographical response of Counter-Reformation authors to Protestant challenges.⁵⁶ The saintly tradition was broken down into two lists of holy men and women in this last chapter, a chapter which was, again, written in a highly rhetorical style, and which served more as an appeal and an argument than as the summary of the advantages of the Republic, which the title of the chapter had promised. The first list included early martyrs and church fathers such as Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna who, later in the seventeenth century, came to be counted among the Apostolic Fathers in (mainly) Catholic writings to emphasize their theological and chronological proximity to the first apostles.⁵⁷ It also included the

Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen*, Weimar (Verlag und Datenbanken für Geisteswissenschaften) 1996. See also Cynthia Lawrence, ‘Ruben’s Raising of the Cross in Context: the ‘Early Christian’ Past and the Evocation of the Sacred in Post-Tridentine Antwerp’, in: Sarah Hamilton, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot (Ashgate) 2005, pp. 251–275.

⁵⁴ On Sanderus’ works see chapters VII and VIII of this study.

⁵⁵ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 156–170. On the popular veneration of Saint Walburga in the Netherlands see, for instance, C. Stroo, ‘De Iconographie van de Heilige Walburga in Vlaanderen’, *Jaarboek Koninklijke Museum voor Schoone Kunsten*, Antwerp 1985, pp. 189–276.

⁵⁶ Markus Völkel, ‘Wie man Kirchengeschichte schreiben soll. Struktur und Erzählung als konkurrierende Modelle der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im konfessionellen Zeitalter’ in: Arndt Brendecke, Ralf-Peter Fuchs, Edith Koller (eds.), *Autorität der Zeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Münster (Lit-Verlag) 2007, pp. 455–489.

⁵⁷ On the use of the term Apostolic Fathers see Jean-Baptiste Cotelier, *SSPatrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera*, Paris 1672.

second-century pope Dionysius, who, together with the other early church fathers reminded Scribani's readers how the early church had rejected heresies. These men thus symbolized not just the apostolic tradition as a key marker of the Counter-Reformation church, but also served as role models for a forceful response to Protestantism and were for these reasons incorporated by Scribani.

The second list focused on the regional saints and cited again Saint Eligius, together with Saint Amandus, Saint Bavo, Saint Rumoldus and others, who formed a series of outstanding Christians with direct links to the Southern Netherlands. These saints had also been the forefront of the christianization of the region and made a reputation as stalwarts in the fight against pagans.⁵⁸ The classification of saints into two distinct groups followed the Tridentine demand that the cult of the saints be re-organized. The authentication of the saints from the early martyrs until recent times and of the historical devotional practices relating to individual saints had been seen as one of the key functions of Catholic hagiography in the search for the establishment of 'Tradition'.⁵⁹ In the wake of the Council of Trent, new guidelines on what constituted a local, regional and universal saint were put forward and the observation of particular devotions was conceptualized within a universally accepted Catholic framework.⁶⁰ More than once Scribani also referred to the apostolic succession as set down by the early church father Tertullian, whose *De praescriptione Haereticorum* served as a key text for the Counter-Reformation literature of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶¹ Chapter 32,1 of this highly influential work was frequently cited by Catholic historians and became the 'mantra' of the Counter-Reformation response to Protestant challenges from Petrus Canisius onwards.⁶² The much-quoted "ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem" (that their first bishop had for his ordainer and predecessor one of the Apostles or those Apostolic men who never deserted the Apostles) also appeared in Scribani's text after

⁵⁸ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 170.

⁵⁹ Simon Ditchfield, "Historia Magistra Sanctitatis?"

⁶⁰ On post-tridentine hagiography see Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* and his "Historia Magistra Sanctitatis?"

⁶¹ Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, *De praescriptione Haereticorum*, in: *ibid.*, *Opera*, Pars I, Turnhout (Brepols) 1954.

⁶² See Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 124ff. See also Völkel, 'Wie man Kirchengeschichte schreiben soll'.

the references to early martyrs and the saints with a local and regional connection.⁶³ As Stefan Benz and Markus Völkel have recently pointed out, Catholic historiography employed 'Tradition' not just to counter the Protestant emphasis on 'Sola Scriptura', but also as the organizing principle of the passage of time.⁶⁴ This tradition manifested itself in a focus on the apostolic succession of the leaders of Catholic Church, so frequently invoked by Scribani.⁶⁵ Histories of monasteries and episcopal lists, but also an emphasis on the succession of rulers and dynastic houses, rather than on particular events, were characteristic features of Counter-Reformation historiography, which, in the Low Countries, however, also had to take into account Philip II's diocesan reforms. Authors in the Southern Netherlands more than anywhere else in the Counter-Reformation world therefore referred to the geographical frame of the seventeen provinces, concentrating, however, in most cases, on the faithful heartland of the Habsburg Netherlands as a marker of identity. The cult of the saints fitted well into this ensemble. This tendency is undoubtedly reflected in Scribani's repeated references to the "Belgica fide".⁶⁶

The two key passages of Scribani's Counter-Reformation message in the *Origines* were strategically placed at the end of the chorographical survey of the Duchy of Brabant, and then again at the end of the presentation of the city of Antwerp. This was certainly not fortuitous, but a well-chosen intervention in a text which otherwise followed in the footsteps of Scribani's chorographical predecessors, Ludovico Guiccardini and also Justus Lipsius, whose organizing principles for his *Lovanium* the Jesuit copied.⁶⁷ Scribani presented a quite detailed description of the physical space of the city, which, although not short on superlatives and comparisons with the architectural wonders of the classical world, offered a realistic view of Antwerp in its sixteenth-century glory. Here, Scribani copied Guiccardini's figures for the city's

⁶³ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 172. Tertullian, translation T. Herbert Bingley, *Tertullian On the testimony of the soul and On the "prescription" against heretics*, London (SPCK) 1914, p. 78.

References to Tertullian also appeared in Scribani, *Origines*, pp. 169, 170 and 171.

⁶⁴ Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*; Völkel, 'Wie man Kirchengeschichte schreiben soll'.

⁶⁵ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 166, 167, 170.

⁶⁶ See also Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Patriotic saints or patriotic hagiography in Brabant at the end of the Middle Ages?', and the discussion on *Terra Beata Brabantia* in Chapter VIII of this study.

⁶⁷ On Justus Lipsius' *Lovanium* see chapter V of this study.

population in each quarter including the Italian's figure for the number of physicians, artists and other specialist groups.⁶⁸ He specifically mentioned the property developments in the north of the city carried out by Gilbert van Schoonbeke and he featured the city gates and the various public and commercial buildings, churches, monasteries and charitable institutions, accompanied by references to their urban benefactors. Antwerp was presented as a cosmopolitan city with resident merchants from the leading trading nations in the western world as well as visitors from the East. The inhabitants were praised for their openness towards their foreign guests, and for their extraordinary language skills: even women could usually converse in more than one foreign language and were familiar with foreign customs and manners. This verdict echoed Guiccardini, who had already noted the linguistic abilities of Antwerp's citizens.⁶⁹ The characterization of the metropolis as a place with residents from many countries was thus a marker of Antwerp's greatness and would later become the hallmark for Amsterdam's success. In the description of Antwerp's international community, however, confessional diversity found no place. Foreigners were listed according to their 'nation', a term which served as a corporate marker often associated with trade networks; the membership of dissident churches was entirely unacceptable in this early seventeenth-century description of the city's population.

Not surprisingly, Scribani had little time for the disturbances and disasters of the Eighty Years' War, which were rather summarily dismissed, together with various city fires, as calamities.⁷⁰ With his emphasis on the sixteenth century Scribani did not need to point out, either, the greatest long-term economic "calamity" of the city, the blockade of the river Schelde, which had throttled Antwerp's maritime trade since 1585.⁷¹ The decline of Antwerp's international trade was simply edited out of Scribani's survey.

The *Origines Antverpiensium* thus remained a hybrid text. On the one hand, it offered a generally accurate description of the architectural highlights and economic achievements of sixteenth-century Antwerp

⁶⁸ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 71–76.

⁶⁹ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 76–77.

⁷¹ Brecht Deseure, Guido Marnef, Gerrit Verhoeven (eds.), *Stad en Stroom. Antwerpse identiteit(en) en vijf eeuwen discours rond de sluiting van de Schelde*, Themanummer *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 123, 4, 2010.

including some statistical material on the population and employment structure after the chorographical fashion of Ludovico Guiccardini, and on the other it presented a typical Counter-Reformation argument which mixed elements of Catholic historiography with references to local and regional cases. Unlike their Protestant counterparts, Catholic historians did not enter into theological debates in their writings, but used the argument of continuity to support their position. Protestant challenges to Catholic orthodoxies and practices, which Johannes Pontanus, Samuel Ampzing and Theodor Schrevelius had all incorporated into their discussions, found no place in this strategy. One might argue that a survey of Antwerp's turbulent sixteenth-century history, in which the city had been a hotbed of Calvinism, would have given enough scope to address the alleged failures of Calvinism in Catholic writings. Scribani, as well as his chorographical successors, however, chose to ignore these upheavals, which, if questioned, they might have dismissed as the "calamities" described above. This does not mean that Scribani refrained from commenting on the Eighty Years' War in his other works. In 1625 he anonymously published two critical accounts of the war from a Southern and a Northern perspective.⁷² For him, however, the chorographical genre was clearly not a suitable place to express his views on the war.

Scribani's *Antverpia* also mixed statistical and geographical details with a Counter-Reformation message that included an appraisal of the faithful Antwerpenaars and a more subtle discussion of the city's artistic achievements. In his depiction of Antwerp's greatest sixteenth-century paintings Scribani focused firstly on the works of Frans Floris (1519/20–1570), a representative of the Italianate Renaissance style and, as such, an antithesis to the Brueghel school of painting in the city. His works must have been closer to the heart of the Renaissance-schooled Scribani, with his personal and intellectual links to Italy, than the more 'earthly' oeuvre of the other great painters in sixteenth-century Antwerp, the Brueghels. It is also certainly no coincidence that the first three pictures which Scribani presented in his survey all carried explicit Counter-Reformation messages and were all displayed at Antwerp Cathedral: Floris' *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* dominated by

⁷² Carolus Scribani, *Veridicus Belgicus*, Antwerp (Martinus Nutius) 1625; *ibid.*, *Apocalypsis Batavica*, Antwerp (Martinus Nutius) 1625. On the public reception of these works see Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J.*, pp. 448–463.

the figure of Archangel Michael, his *Assumption of the Virgin*, which today no longer exists, and the *Last Judgement*, a sharp reminder to its viewers, and to Scribani's readers, that those who did not adhere to the 'True Church' would certainly be damned on the Day of Judgement.

THE ROYAL HISTORIAN AND THE METROPOLIS

A very similar study, although one which devoted rather less space to a consideration of Antwerp's artistic and scientific achievements was written by Jean Baptiste Gramaye. Gramaye was born in Antwerp in 1579, but had spent his childhood in Arnhem in Gelderland, where his father and other members of his family held high positions in the province's administration. Gramaye was undoubtedly the most prolific author of chorographical studies in the Low Countries. He had studied the Humanist trivium, and Civic and Canon Law in Leuven, where he also taught History for a brief period. He was appointed *Protonotarius Apostolicus* and became provost of the St. Walburgis-Kerk in Arnhem. On the death of Justus Lipsius in 1606 he successfully applied for the position of Historiographer Royal. Gramaye wrote what Lipsius had failed to do, namely the long-awaited history of Brabant.⁷³ Although he was not in receipt of a fixed salary, the Archdukes gave him financial support and letters of recommendation to facilitate his research in archives in the Southern Netherlands. He travelled extensively, and not just in the Low Countries, visiting other parts of western and eastern Europe as well as North Africa. In 1613 he was sent as an ambassador of the Archdukes to the French court and to the Archbishop of Reims where he negotiated the translation of the relics of Saint Albert, Cardinal and bishop of Liège (and Archduke Albert's great role model), to Brussels. While travelling in North Africa, Gramaye was captured by Barbary corsairs and sold as a slave to Algiers, where he spent six months in captivity in 1619. He used his time in Africa to good effect, later publishing descriptions of what he had seen.⁷⁴ He also acted as an ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna, where he was

⁷³ Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Antiquitates illustrissimi ducatus Brabantiae*, Brussels (Johannes Momartus) 1610.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Africae illustratae libri decem, in quibus Barbaria, gentesque eius ut olim, ..., et mediis reducendi illue religionem et debellandi Puratas et Africa eiiciendi*, Tournai (Quinque) 1622.

appointed Imperial Councillor in 1623. He spent some time in Bohemia and Moravia in the second half of the 1620s. While travelling back from the Low Countries to Moravia he fell ill and died in Lübeck in 1635.⁷⁵

Gramaye's *Antverpiae Antiquitatis* was published in Brussels by Johannes Mommaerts in 1610, the same year as Scribani's books appeared in print. Some of the censors' comments about Gramaye's publication, however, date from 1607, so the text itself had probably been ready for publication three years previously. The work, which also incorporated a discussion of the wider markgraviate outside Antwerp's city walls, covered much of the same ground as Scribani. Gramaye's work appeared in a mainly unillustrated edition. Three engravings were, however, incorporated on specially inserted paper.⁷⁶ Their selection for this edition seems somewhat random. They show the pest house of the city, the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Michael and two city seals. Gramaye's text offered a rather schematic account of the city, which echoed other chorographical works by the Historiographer Royal.⁷⁷ After discussing the ancient tribes which had lived around Antwerp, the name of the city and Becanus' etymological speculations (which he dismissed), Gramaye proceeded to survey the cityscape from the first foundation of the *Burcht* to the main buildings during his own time. Here, he made references to ancient authorities such as Caesar, as well as Cornelius Graphaeus and Johannes Bochius, who had both described the state entries of various Habsburg rulers into Antwerp in the sixteenth century.⁷⁸ Chapter IV focused on the international acclaim of the city with reference to authors such as the Scotsman George Buchanan, Ludovico Guiccardini, Guillemus

⁷⁵ A biography on this important and fascinating character is still lacking. For some details of his life see Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 323f and the literature cited there.

⁷⁶ For this discussion I have used the edition preserved in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience Antwerp.

⁷⁷ Gramaye's *Gerardimontium Oppidum*, a chorographical survey of the Flemish city of Geraardsbergen, which was published in Brussels in 1611 will be discussed in Chapter VI of this study.

⁷⁸ Cornelius Graphaeus, *De seer zonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst van den...prince Philips inde Stadt van Antwerpen etc.*, Antwerp (Gillis van Diest) 1550; Johannes Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum in adventu sereniss. Principis Ernesti archducis Austriae etc.*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1595; *ibid.*, *Historica narratio profectionis et inaugurationis serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae archiducum etc.*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1602.

Britannicus (presumably William Camden), the Spanish author Gomez Hispanus, and the Dutch historian Willem Heda.

While Book I discusses the geographical space of the city as well as its principal civic buildings, Book II surveys the various religious houses and their inhabitants. In the latter the reader was presented with a list of “Apostoles Antverpiensium”, which included the same saintly canon which Scribani had introduced in his studies.⁷⁹ The third part of the book covered the town government and paid tribute to the citizens of Antwerp for their interest in the arts and the world of learning, their cosmopolitan attitude, their hospitality towards strangers and their expertise in foreign languages—all of which had already been highlighted by Guiccardini and were also echoed in Scribani’s texts.⁸⁰

The book therefore added little new or significantly different to what had already been discussed in Scribani’s studies. Compared to the Jesuit’s survey of Antwerp, Gramaye’s book remained rather detached and schematic. Nor did Gramaye evince a particular attachment for his native town, and apparently regarded his book, which he dedicated to the Archdukes and to the Antwerp magistrates, as part of his wider task to survey the Habsburg Netherlands.

OF MISSIONARIES AND BISHOPS

Becanus, Scribani and Gramaye set the agenda for later chorographical surveys of the city. In 1678 Jacobus Le Roy presented his version of the history and topography of the markgraviate, *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii, hac est urbis et agri Antverpeniensis*, which relied heavily on the earlier works from the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸¹ Baron Jacobus, or Jacques Le Roy, was an ardent collector and author of histories of Brabant.⁸² His voluminous *Notitia* was written in Latin and covered both the city of Antwerp and the surrounding area. A number of engravings were included, most of which

⁷⁹ Gramaye, *Antverpiae Antiquitatis*, Liber Secundus, Cap. II.

⁸⁰ Gramaye, *Antverpiae Antiquitatis*, Liber Tertius, esp. p. 103f.

⁸¹ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii, hac est urbis et agri Antverpeniensis etc.*, Amsterdam (Albertus Magnus) 1678. For this study I have used the copy preserved in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience Antwerp.

⁸² See also Jacques Le Roy, *Groot wereldlyk tooneel des hertogdoms van Brabant*, The Hague (Christiaan van Lom) 1730.

showed the tomb monuments of Antwerp bishops. Like Commelin in Amsterdam fifteen years later, Le Roy was very much a collector and collator of existing knowledge of the city. He quoted extensively from Becanus and Scribani, but also from Abraham Ortelius, a native Antwerpenaar, whose *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, firstly published in 1570, was mentioned in the text.⁸³ Le Roy relied on the judgement of these authors on Antwerp's history rather than presenting a new interpretation.⁸⁴ He modelled the organization of his chapters largely on the works of Scribani and Gramaye, but gave more attention to the sacred history of the city than to her civic government, which was only briefly touched upon in the last three pages of his description.⁸⁵ There was very little room for a survey of Antwerp's secular topography or a praise of its cosmopolitan, cultured inhabitants. This aspect was only covered through Ortelius' text, written during the city's heyday, and in the passage quoted in Le Roy's study, the cartographer Ortelius paid more attention to the cityscape, comparing Antwerp's Cathedral of Our Lady to Vienna's St. Stephan's Cathedral and London's St. Paul's, than to the demographic diversity of the city's residents. Again, the economic decline of the metropolis was conspicuously absent in Le Roy's account. In his sacred history of Antwerp, Le Roy retraced the familiar ground when dealing with the establishment of abbeys, monasteries and episcopal succession, and on occasion he adopted a wider perspective, transgressing firstly the boundaries of the margraviate, and then those of the Habsburg Netherlands, for instance when he considered the activities of Saint Boniface in the Holy Roman Empire, which followed his discussion of Saint Walburga's arrival in Antwerp.⁸⁶ Le Roy's survey of the churches and religious houses also preceded his discussion of the first tribes around Antwerp and the fortifications of the site. In this way he broke with early seventeenth-century models and gave sacred history precedence over secular history. Here, again he emphasized continuity by listing the bishops (often accompanied with an engraving of the mausoleum of the respective dignitary) and providing brief biographies of the markgraves of Antwerp.⁸⁷ Here, as everywhere else in the text, politics did not intrude. Neither the Eighty

⁸³ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, p. 26.

⁸⁴ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, pp. 6–11, pp. 11–14, p. 26.

⁸⁵ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, pp. 89–92.

⁸⁶ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, pp. 67–72, pp. 16–26.

Years' War nor the more recent Franco-Dutch War, which had only ended with the Treaty of Nijmegen in the year of Le Roy's publication, were discussed or even mentioned *en passant*. Where politics were mentioned, they concerned the relation between the markgraviate and its founders, the Holy Roman Emperors, rather than its more current overlords. The only exception was a reference to the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon, the second spouse of the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold, who had been buried in St. Michael's Abbey in 1465.⁸⁸ This monument had already been mentioned by Scribani, and this might have been the main reason why Le Roy thought it worthwhile to include an engraving of the aristocratic tomb. Given the general approach it would be mistaken to see in this some subtle allusion to Antwerp's Burgundian past. The second reference to Antwerp's more recent Habsburg past occurs when he listed the Knights of the Golden Fleece from 1555, when Philip II succeeded Charles V as the ruler of the Low Countries. This list appeared as Chapter VIII in the text without further introduction or interpretation, and it is unclear why Le Roy chose these men rather than others at another moment in the long and distinguished history of the order.⁸⁹ His survey then returned to the coverage of the different religious houses in the city.

Where actors actually appeared in the story, they were members of the Catholic elite in one form or another. The gallery of saints who had already inhabited the books of Scribani and Gramaye reappeared as the founders of monasteries, abbeys and charitable houses and as episcopal administrators. In this context, Le Roy presented his own rationale for the reorganization of the Netherlands dioceses which had little to do with Philip II's motives. Le Roy firmly based his argument on ecclesiastical history, which he traced back to the first apostles of the region and supported with episcopal and papal documents from the collection of Aubertus Miraeus, which was specifically mentioned.⁹⁰ Disputes between the various religious orders in and around Antwerp were also covered. Apart from these churchmen and saints the only other men who actively shaped history in Le Roy's view were various

⁸⁸ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, engraving of the tomb monument, p. 35.

⁸⁹ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, pp. 30–53.

⁹⁰ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, p. 54. Aubertus Miraeus, *Donationum Belgarum Libri II*, Antwerp (Jan Cnobbert) 1629.

Holy Roman Emperors, including Frederick Barbarossa, whose seal was reproduced in the book.⁹¹

Like Caspar Commelin in his survey of Amsterdam in 1693, Jacobus Le Roy was in effect a compiler. Like his Amsterdam counterpart writing fifteen years later, he saw himself as a collector of other historians' works, and contextualized himself within an already established tradition of writing about the city. Also like Commelin, he focused on the presentation of other commemorative media—in Le Roy's case episcopal lists as well as engravings of mausolea, seals and extracts from historical documents. While firmly focused on an ecclesiastical programme which left little room for the civic history of Antwerp, Le Roy transformed the chorographical survey into an antiquarian enterprise. Unlike Commelin, however, he did not employ footnotes, and his book was therefore not littered with comments on yet another source in support of an already well-established argument. He preferred to cite other authorities extensively and refrained from giving his own comments on the history and topography of the city. Although the content and the focus of the two works might differ, the strategy that both authors adopted was similar, and looked forward towards the antiquarian tradition of the eighteenth century.

So, when we compare histories of Antwerp and Amsterdam, both similarities and striking differences in coverage emerge. The texts fulfilled to varying degrees the requirements to cover the origins of the cities, their relation to the surrounding area and their medieval past. The treatment of more recent events, however, revealed substantial differences between the approach of historians from the Northern and Southern Low Countries. The most obvious observation is the conspicuous lack of interest in the events of the Eighty Years' War among Antwerp's chorographers. Where references to the iconic events of the war were incorporated in, and remained essential elements of the historical-topographical description of Amsterdam, Antwerp's involvement in the conflict was deliberately omitted from the chorographies of the city. Instead, Antwerp's chorographers went out of their way to praise the city's magnificent status in the sixteenth century. Secondly, the confessional agenda in the writings on both cities followed distinctive Protestant and Catholic historiographical conventions. Protestant

⁹¹ Jacobus Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus*, p. 14.

authors in the North presented theological arguments challenging Catholic orthodoxies while southern Catholics emphasized 'Tradition' and apostolic succession and did not enter into a discussion about Catholic or Protestant 'truths'. Continuity, rather than change, marked the passage of time in the South, while in the North a historian like Johannes Pontanus highlighted rapid change as a reason for Amsterdam's rise to greatness. While Pontanus divided time into three distinct ages, of which the last period, covering only a few decades, was decisive for the rise of Amsterdam, Antwerp's chorographers played down the recent changes that had befallen Antwerp and turned their attention on the city's earlier Golden Age.

Some aspects of the more recent past of the cities did, however, remain similar. Both cities were praised for their cosmopolitan outlook, and their hospitality towards foreigners was seen as the secret of their economic success. In Amsterdam, however, this hospitality was extended to 'tolerance' for non-Calvinist religions, while Antwerp's chorographers did not (and could not) discuss confessional or religious diversity in the city. In both cities, 'culture' featured prominently as a marker of identity and of prestige. In Amsterdam, cultural expressions were bound up with the rise of the vernacular language, while in Antwerp culture largely remained within the orbit of the Catholic Church, both in terms of the themes covered in art and of the spaces where these artistic expressions were displayed. Yet as we will see in a later chapter covering the chorography of the Flemish city of Geraardsbergen, this focus on sacred art owned, perhaps, more to the particular status of Antwerp's chorographers as members of an ecclesiastical elite than to a general trend in the genre in the Southern Low Countries.⁹²

⁹² See Chapter VI of the present study.

CHAPTER FIVE

FADED GLORY: LEUVEN

While the metropolis of Antwerp was covered by a range of chorographical studies, its neighbour, the university town of Leuven did not attract much chorographical attention in the seventeenth century. The one chorographical survey that was written on Leuven, however, was the product of the pen of one of the most erudite and influential intellectuals of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Justus Lipsius. Although Leuven's seventeenth-century historiography does not allow for a diachronic comparison, Lipsius and his thoughts on chorographies were immensely important for the development of the genre.

Lipsius is certainly not best known for his *Lovanium*, which he published in 1605, shortly before his death.¹ The book, dedicated to Charles Duke of Croÿ and Aarschot, one of the most powerful men in the Spanish Low Countries at the time, was, according to his author, a rather rushed piece of work in need of amendments and additions. Death, however, intervened. As a description of a city, the book was a mixture of Renaissance dialogue and elements of the medieval *laus urbis*.

It seems that the *Lovanium* was not received particularly well in a scholarly world otherwise eager to absorb Lipsius' publications. It did not circulate as widely as did most of his other texts. Upon closer inspection, however, the book does indeed fit well into Lipsius' oeuvre. His experience and expertise as a humanist and antiquarian, expressed in his numerous publications on classical Rome, were certainly reflected in his approach to the description of Leuven.² Moreover, Lipsius was

¹ Justus Lipsius, *Lovanium sive: Opidi et academiae eius descriptio, libri tres*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1605. For comments on this work see, for instance, the rather harsh verdict by Ferdinand vander Haeghen in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, which criticized the *Lovanium* as "un des ouvrages les moins estimés de Juste Lipse". Ferdinand vander Haeghen & Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, 5 vols., Brussels (Culture et Civilization) 1964, III, pp. 996–999 (esp. 997).

² It was, however, re-published three times in the next seventy years as part of the various editions of Lipsius' collected works, for instance in Horace Cardon's *Opera Omnia*, vol. II, Lyon 1613, in Balthasar Moretus' *Opera Omnia*, vol. III, Antwerp,

undoubtedly at the heart of the *Res publica litteraria* of his time, and even if his own work as a chorographer did not arouse much interest, he commented extensively on the early chorographies and other forms of urban and regional descriptions of his contemporaries both in the Low Countries and in the wider European world.³ His networks and his reputation survived his turbulent academic and spiritual life, notably his dramatic move from Leiden to Leuven in 1591. The following discussion will pass over Lipsius' philosophical and philological contributions to humanist scholarship but will focus on his historical and historiographical writings relating to the development of chorographical texts.

Lipsius' return to his native Brabant and appointment as Professor of Ancient History at the University of Leuven was a *cause célèbre* within the academic world of the time. Calvinist scholars denounced his departure from Leiden as a betrayal, while for the Spanish Habsburg world, the move of the internationally acclaimed intellectual to Leuven, accompanied by his declaration in favour of Catholicism, was interpreted as a victory for the Catholic cause and a major coup for the university, which had suffered during the Eighty Years' War. Lipsius was further honoured for his return to the South by his appointment as Historiographer Royal to Philip II on 14 December 1595, a position for which he had lobbied at the court, not least by dedicating his *De Militia Romana*, published in the same year, to the Spanish crown prince Philip III.⁴ He was awarded a lucrative annuity of 1,000 florins for the post, which he held until his death in 1606.

The project of the description of Leuven, a topic which was certainly unusual in his oeuvre, was closely related to the dedicatee, Charles de Croÿ, and his relation to Lipsius.⁵ The *Lovanium*, which included a

1637, and in A. van Hoogenhuysen's *Opera Omnia*, vol. III, Wesel 1675. A facsimile edition of the Latin text with a Dutch translation has also been published by Jan Papy as part of the celebrations of Leuven University's 575th anniversary in 2000: Jan Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven. Beschrijving van de Stad en haar Universiteit*, Leuven (Leuven University Press) 2000. The following citations will be taken from this publication. Page numbers are given with reference to both Papy's edition and the original facsimile reproduction in the book.

³ On Lipsius' role within Catholic intellectual networks see Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Kritik und Tradition*, pp. 322f, 526f.

⁴ Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana*, Antwerp (Plantin/Moretus) 1595.

⁵ The following information is taken from Jan Papy, 'The use of medieval and contemporary sources in the History of Leuven of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). The Lovanium (1605) as a case of humanist historiography', *LIAS* 28, 2002, pp. 45–62.

special section on the seignory of Heverlee in the possession of the House of Croÿ and the residence of the Duke, was not the first work dedicated to Lipsius' long-term friend. Not only was Charles one of the most powerful and prosperous men in the Low Countries, but he was also known as an ardent collector of books, art works, coins and paintings, whose library of at least 3,000 volumes was the most valuable private library in the Low Countries at the time.⁶ The Croÿ family, who had substantial landholdings scattered across the Southern Netherlands, also embarked on a massive project to chart their possessions by commissioning their own artist, Adrien de Montigny, to paint a series of 2,500 pictures of their properties which was produced with accompanying descriptions in 23 volumes between 1598 and 1614 and are known as the *Albums de Croÿ*. This splendid collection offers the most comprehensive survey of estates in Hainaut, Brabant, Flanders and elsewhere in the Low Countries then in the possession of the various branches of the Croÿ family.⁷

Charles shared not only his passion for books and antiquity with Lipsius, but also his interest in gardens and flowers. Moreover, both men had studied in Leuven's Collegium Trilingue (albeit not at the same time) and started an epistolary exchange in 1597 which lasted until Lipsius' death.⁸ Among Lipsius' works dedicated to his friend was his treatise on ancient libraries, *De Bibliothecis Syntagma* (Antwerp 1602), and it has been suggested that the scholar harboured some hopes that Charles would eventually donate his substantial library, or at least parts of it, to Leuven University.⁹ *Lovanium*, which was intended as a wedding gift to mark the Duke's second marriage to his niece Dorothea de Croÿ, also probably served some ulterior motives.

⁶ Papy, 'The use of medieval and contemporary sources', p. 57 and the literature cited here.

⁷ Jean-Marie Duvosquel, R. Berger, F.+ Ph. Jacquet-Ladrier, Bart Minnen (eds.), *Albums de Croÿ, Dl. 3, Bezittingen der Croÿ's in Brabant, Vlaanderen, Artesië en het Naamse*, Brussels (Crédit communal de Belgique) 1985; Bart Minnen, (ed.), *Het herzogdom Aarschot onder Karel van Croÿ (1595-1612); Kadasters en gezichten*, Brussels (Crédit communal de Belgique) 1993.

⁸ On the personal relationship between Charles of Croÿ and Justus Lipsius see Dirk Sacré in G. Tournoy, Jan Papy, Jeanine de Landtsheer (eds.), *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 20 september-17 oktober 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 13, Leuven (Leuven University Press) 1997, pp. 119-122. See also the exhibition catalogue *Een stad en een geslacht: Leuven en Croÿ*, Exhibition Catalogue, Leuven Stedelijk Museum van der Kelen-Mertens, Leuven 1987.

⁹ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 57 (Lipsius-text, p. 8).

The description of Heverlee, the residence of the Duke, was specifically incorporated to flatter Charles' more intellectual ambitions. The manor, with its coveted library, was lavishly praised as a centre of learning and contemplation.¹⁰ This appreciation had apparently been coordinated with the wishes of the Duke, who had, according to Lipsius, commissioned the large engraving depicting the buildings and surrounding gardens of Heverlee to accompany the text.¹¹ It might be that Lipsius painted the picture of a place where scholars could enjoy the quietness of the gardens while contemplating and debating their latest readings in order to plant the desired idea into the dedicatee's mind. Lipsius had presented his understanding of a humanist garden and its role for the spiritual and physical well-being of men (and women), particularly in the turbulent times of war and political upheaval, in his much-quoted *De Constantia* (1584).¹² The role of Heverlee's garden as a place for intellectual dialogue and quiet contemplation was certainly shared by Charles de Croÿ. He and other readers of Lipsius' *Lovanium* were aware of the importance of the garden theme in the works of the humanist.¹³

The text itself incorporated both traditional elements of the *laus urbis* (such as three laudatory poems—one on the city, one on the university and one on Heverlee) as well as some variations, which reflected Renaissance scholarship, notably the development of the genre in Italy where more attention was given to the inhabitants, and their economic and political activities. The book was constructed around a fictitious dialogue between Lipsius and four of his pupils as they walked around the city, a device often used by Renaissance scholars and derived from Seneca whom Lipsius admired.¹⁴ The four pupils mentioned here were Lipsius' favourites: Philip Rubens, the brother of Peter Paul Rubens, Gregorius jr. Del Plano, later mayor of Antwerp, Gregorius Uwens,

¹⁰ Justus Lipsius, *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1602; Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 269–276.

¹¹ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 273 (Lipsius-text, p. 116).

¹² Justus Lipsius, *De Constantia libri duo*, Leiden (Plantin) 1584.

¹³ On Lipsius' writings on humanist gardens and his influence on his pupils and friends see Ulrich Heinen, 'Rubens' Garten und die Gesundheit des Künstlers', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* LXV, 2004, pp. 71–182, here pp. 92–100. See also Christiane Lauterbach, *Gärten der Musen und Grazien—Mensch und Natur im niederländischen Humanistengarten, 1522–1655*, Munich/Berlin (Deutscher Kunstverlag) 2004.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Dialogue', *Renaissance Studies* 3, 1989, pp. 1–12.

whose father had been a member of the Great Council in Mechelen, and an unknown Van Santen. The choice of these men as discussants on the imaginary tour was no coincidence. Neither was it simply testimony to the enduring friendship between a master and his pupils. It was a way of bringing the four men to the attention of Duke Charles in the hope of gaining them the patronage of the Croÿ family. The career of Philip and Peter Paul Rubens as protégés of the House of Croÿ and the role of the Lipsius circle in cataloguing and editing the coin collections of the Duke after his death testify to the influence that Lipsius enjoyed at the House of Croÿ.¹⁵ The Renaissance dialogue he had chosen for his book was, however, rarely employed to describe a city. Lipsius himself had used the form of the dialogue in his earlier historical-antiquarian writings on ancient Rome, especially in his *Admiranda sive de Magnitudine Romana Libri IV* (1598), whose organization also served as the model for his study of Leuven.¹⁶ Here, as elsewhere in his writings, Lipsius followed the format suggested by Varro whose history of Rome served as an exemplar for chorographies at the time, and whose guiding categories of ‘How? Who? When? Why?’ Lipsius duly applied to his *Lovanium*.¹⁷ Lipsius began by discussing the city’s name and foundation, then gave a chronological account of the Counts and Dukes of Brabant and described the regular and secular clergy in and around the city. Next he proceeded to consider Leuven’s most prominent secular and sacred buildings, and, in a separate section, covered the university and its structures and most important colleges. The book ended and, one might argue, culminated with an appreciation of Heverlee.

In many respects, the *Lovanium* was a rather personal statement by the author. In his introduction Lipsius mentioned his earlier disregard for history other than ancient history and admitted that he had only recently considered his own country and city as subjects worthy

¹⁵ On Lipsius relationship with the House of Arensberg and Croÿ see, for instance, *En stad en een geslacht: Leuven en Croÿ*, Exhibition Catalogue. See also Ulrich Heinen, ‘Rubens’ Garten und die Gesundheit des Künstlers’, pp. 88–92.

¹⁶ Justus Lipsius, *Admiranda sive de Magnitudine Romana Libri IV*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1598.

¹⁷ See, for instance, M. Laureys, J. Papy, ‘“The Grandeur that was Rome”, Lipsius’ varieties op een oud thema’ in: *Justus Lipsius (1546–1606) en het Plantijnse Huis* (Publicaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet 37), Antwerp 1997, pp. 129–137.

of investigation.¹⁸ Contemporary interest in regional history was certainly also part of Lipsius' remit as Historiographer Royal. In 1605 the States of Brabant asked him to write a history of the Duchy. In reply Lipsius pointed to the recently completed *Lovanium*, but it was suggested that he should write a specific text on Brabant. This, however, never materialized. The task was completed by his successor in the archducal office, Gramaye, whose *Historia, et Antiquitates Brabantiae* appeared in Leuven in 1606.¹⁹ In contrast to urban chronicles, texts in praise of the Duchy of Brabant could look back on a long and vibrant medieval tradition. Lipsius' own study frequently referred to earlier histories on the subject.²⁰ In the South, historiographical initiatives were also accompanied by an attempt to rescue medieval ecclesiastical and monastic sources from the devastating criticism of Northern Protestant authors. The debate about the role of the Middle Ages was thus bound up with the confessional controversies of the time. Here, the general humanist criticism of the 'barbarism' of the Middle Ages, born out of, among other things, philological criticism of a corrupt medieval Latin, had somehow to be transformed into a vindication of the Middle Ages. Catholic authors in the Low Countries therefore aimed to defend medieval texts regarded by their opponents as unreliable, guided by 'superstitious' beliefs, and sometimes even deliberately falsified.

They also had to defend the era preserved through medieval chronicles and annals against the Protestant criticism of a seemingly omnipotent and misguided papal dominance. This was, perhaps, less difficult in the Southern Netherlands, where many towns, cities and provinces perceived their medieval past as a 'Golden Age' under Burgundian and Habsburg rule.²¹ Even the most ardent defenders of medieval texts, however, could not deny the lack of refined Latin in some monastic

¹⁸ References are taken from Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, here, p. 45. See also Jozef IJsewijn, 'Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)' in: Dirk Sacré et al. (eds.), *Lipsius en Leuven*, pp. 9–17.

¹⁹ Papy, 'The use of medieval and contemporary sources', p. 47. See also Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 106–107, 174–175, 323. Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Historia, et Antiquitates Brabantiae*, Leuven (Joannes Masius) 1606.

²⁰ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *L'Écriture de la Mémoire Urbaine en Flandre et en Brabant* and the literature cited there.

²¹ This development was, of course, not restricted to the Low Countries. Catholic authors in the Holy Roman Empire were encouraged, and encouraged their peers to rehabilitate the Middle Ages and its literary productions in their own writings. See Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, especially pp. 106–109. See also Bernard

authors. However, the chronological closeness of the authors to the events that were described became a leading argument for their use by historians. Stefan Benz has recently suggested that the debate about the use of medieval sources was born out of philological arguments, then turned into a Protestant criticism of monastic 'fables and fabrications', before finally being transformed into an argument for historical authenticity by Catholic defenders. As has already been pointed out when discussing Caspar Commelin's praise of Holland's fourteenth-century clerk Melis Stoke in his chorography of Amsterdam, authors at the end of the seventeenth century tended to privilege indigenous Dutch sources over foreign, Latin accounts of the past and did not pay as much attention as their sixteenth-century predecessors to the Catholicity of medieval writers, if their argument suited their purposes. Protestant authors often restricted their criticism of medieval texts to monastic sources written by 'misguided' monks, but accepted clerical authors in the service of the political rulers of the Low Countries. Both geographical and chronological closeness to the events were regarded as greater markers of authenticity than confessional affiliation. These developments further contributed to the pressure on historians to use original documents when writing local history.²²

It is within this context that Lipsius' remarks about his awakening to regional (and also medieval) history have to be viewed. As a Humanist Lipsius remained an advocate of an elegant style, and was able to combine the two literary genres that he had chosen for his study, poetry and dialogue, with fluidity and grace into one text. Other works that he included, very often *verbatim*, from other narrative sources, were not specifically annotated as quotations of earlier authors. They were merely shown in a different typeface in the book, but did not interrupt the flow of Lipsius' prose or argument. It would be another ten years before scholars such as Pontanus broke with this humanist requirement and tradition of a single, elegantly flowing style in favour of a more diligent source critique.

In general, the picture Lipsius gave of Leuven was a melancholic one of decline. The city had, indeed, gradually lost out politically and economically in Brabant to her competitors Antwerp, Brussels

Anton Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving in de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw over den Opstand*, Maastricht (van Aelst) 1941, repr. Leeuwarden 1981.

²² Benz, *Zwischen Kritik und Tradition*, pp. 106–109.

and Mechelen. Leuven had known its 'Golden Age' in the fourteenth century, but was certainly no longer the first city of Brabant.²³ Leuven's population gradually declined over the course of the fifteenth century and, while other Brabantine cities recovered from the demographic crisis of the period, Leuven stagnated demographically after 1526.²⁴ When questioned by his students in his fictitious dialogue, Lipsius pointed out that in former times the city, and notably the university, founded in 1425, had been full of students from all parts of the Low Countries, and also from the rest of the educated world. Compared to the glorious city it had been, Leuven seemed a backwater now.²⁵ This rhetoric of decline was further emphasized in another medium, the poem "Leuven Speaks" at the end of the book, where the city bemoaned her former glory and her decline, which was, she claimed, due to civic uprisings and internal strife. With typical humanist morality Lipsius drew a moral example from the fate of Leuven: pride had laid low this once renowned city.²⁶

In his discussion of Leuven's origins, Lipsius presented himself as well acquainted with earlier writings on the topic. He relied particularly on the *Libri tres de rebus gestis Ducum Brabantiae* (Leuven 1532) of his Leuven predecessor and fellow historian Adrianus Barlandus and Edmond de Dynter's *Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingae et Brabantiae ac regum Francorum*.²⁷ His most important sources,

²³ Echoes of Leuven's former prominence could still be heard in Brussels' Joyous Entries ceremonies: new monarchs entered the city through the Leuven Gate, symbolizing, at least, that Leuven had been visited first. See Margit Thófnér, *A Common Art*, p. 205.

²⁴ For details on Leuven's economic and demographic crisis see Raymond van Uytven, 'De sociale crisis der XVIe eeuw te Leuven', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis/Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1958, pp. 356–387.

²⁵ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 47. This air of nostalgia is also reflected in personal remarks at the beginning of the text, where Lipsius referred to his own advanced age and his recent illness, p. 45. See also pp. 127, 135.

²⁶ On the poem and on Lipsius' poetry in general see Jan Papy, 'La poésie de Juste Lipse. Esquisse d'une évaluation critique de sa technique poétique', in: Christian Mouchel (ed.), *Juste Lipse (1547–1606) en son temps. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg* 1994, Paris (Champion) 1996, pp. 163–214.

²⁷ On Barlandus see Ari Wesseling, 'In Praise of Brabant, Holland and the Habsburg Expansion: Barlandus' Survey of the Low Countries (1534)', in: Gilbert Tournoy et al. (eds.), *Myrica: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef Ijsewijn*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 16, Leuven (Leuven University Press) 2000, pp. 229–247; A.J.A. Bijsterveld, M. Verweij (eds.), *Adrianus Barlandus. De kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant*. On Edmond de Dynter and other medieval Brabant histories see: Robert Stein, *Politiek en Historiografie. Het onstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Leuven (Peeters) 1994.

however, were the then unpublished works of his old friend Petrus Divaeus (1536–1591), whom he specifically mentioned in his address to the reader and again in the first chapter of the book.²⁸ Of particular importance for his own study were Divaeus' *Rerum Brabantiarum libri XIX*, posthumously published by Aubertus Miraeus with Verdussen in Antwerp in 1610, his *Rerum Lovanensium libri IV*, written in the years 1564–1565, and, lastly, the *Annalium Lovanensium libri VIII*, which have not been preserved, but which were in circulation during Lipsius' lifetime.²⁹ Lipsius also made numerous references to other histories, chronicles and annals, which he claimed to have consulted for his research. Most important for the early medieval history of the area, which he covered extensively, were his references to the *Annales Fuldenses*, to the works of Regino of Prüm and to the chronicles of Sigebert of Gembloux, which were most frequently cited and which fitted well into the rehabilitation programme for Catholic sources discussed above and also responded to the requirement for chorographical vicinity between author and event.³⁰ Lipsius' fictitious tour around the city started with an interpretation of the origins of Leuven. Here, he dismissed and ridiculed versions of the Trojan origin of the ducal house of Brabant (and by extension of Leuven) as proposed by Barlandus and other authors, and which had been widespread in the historiography of the territory and its rulers throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³¹ Lipsius also brushed aside other far-fetched etymological interpretations of the origin of the city which related it to a mythical Scottish king called Lupus and suggested a founding date of 60 B.C.³² The attack against etymological interpretations of Leuven's origin, was, however, not just a rebuff of fables and folklore, but also, more specifically, an attack on the linguistic theories of Goropius Becanus, who had identified the Brabantine, and notably the Antwerp ancestors, as descendants of the Cimbri, a tribe which could in turn

²⁸ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 41; Lipsius, Ad Lectorem. Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 43, (Lipsius-text, p. 1).

²⁹ See the numerous references to Divaeus' work in Papy's footnotes of Lipsius' *Lovanium*.

³⁰ A more detailed overview of Lipsius' medieval and contemporary sources is offered by Papy, 'The use of medieval and contemporary sources', pp. 53–56.

³¹ Robert Stein, *Politiek en Historiografie*; *ibid.*, 'Brabant en de Karolingische dynastie. Over het ontstaan van een historiografische traditie', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 110, 3 1995, pp. 329–351.

³² Papy, (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 51 (Lipsius-text p. 5).

trace its founding father to Japhet, Noah's son.³³ These attempts to combine biblical ancestry with post- and notably non-Roman tribes as a historiographical strategy of sixteenth-century authors will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII of this study. In the present context it should be pointed out that Lipsius had already expressed his criticism of Becanus' theories not only in terms of Becanus' genealogical interpretations of a Brabantine ancestry, but also, more generally, of his etymological deductions, which, at their most extreme, had claimed the Dutch spoken in Antwerp as the language of the Garden of Eden.³⁴ According to Lipsius' own interpretation, based on the above-mentioned *Annales Fuldenses* and Regino's *Chronicle*, Leuven was founded during the Norman invasions of the ninth century.³⁵ It was in this discussion of the origins of Leuven, that Lipsius elaborated on the approach to the topic which he had developed during his studies of classical Rome. He firstly mentioned the texts covering the story, assessed their authenticity and then supported them with references to archaeological remains, or in the case of the cited battle between the Normans and Emperor Arnulf (of Carinthia), which he cited, with a topographical comparison of the landscape mentioned by Regino and the landscape surrounding Leuven, which, according to Lipsius, could be easily identified as the place of Regino's description. Throughout the text, he encouraged his pupils to use their own eyes and compare the archaeological remains and the geography of the area with the historical texts on Leuven. This strategy is even more evident in his discussion of the alleged Roman origins of the city, which he dismissed with a reference to the town walls, which were, as he pointed out, decidedly younger than the Roman period. Here again, he firstly supported his argument by references in Sigebert of Gembloux' *Chronicon* to the siege of Leuven in 1012; he then asked his pupils to study the oldest parts of the city walls and come to their own conclusions about the age of the fortifications.³⁶ This method—a close reading and interpretation

³³ On Becanus see Papy, 'The use of medieval and contemporary sources', pp. 52–53 and the literature cited there.

³⁴ Lipsius himself had studied the origins of the Germanic languages, but had been more cautious in his assessment of the validity of etymological deductions. See Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, p. 173.

³⁵ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 55–67 (Lipsius-text, pp. 7–13).

³⁶ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 76–77 (Lipsius-text, pp. 17–18). Sigebert von Gembloux, *Sigeberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus*, ed. D.L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 Stuttgart 1980 (Hanover 1844).

of a historic source, often cross-referenced with other texts, and then, where possible, the study of visual evidence of what had been said, was certainly an approach to scholarship that Lipsius had acquired during his time in Rome from 1568 to 1570, where he had lived and worked as a secretary to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, and where he had visited ancient sites, inspected the coin collections of other scholars, diplomats and politicians, transcribed inscriptions of tombstones and other classical monuments of the city and marvelled at the statues of ancient gods and emperors.³⁷ This personal encounter with the ancient world, it has been argued, was decisive for Lipsius' future research and for his antiquarian work, which further sharpened his understanding of what was required to turn his knowledge of ancient Rome into an educational tool.³⁸ This approach, which still focused on texts as sources for an authentic view of the past, and used artefacts and monuments as supportive evidence, stood, it might be argued, at the beginning of an antiquarian tradition which was further developed by Lipsius' successors in chorographical studies. As has been demonstrated in earlier chapters, in this process the role of artefacts and non-narrative sources in this process in search of a historical 'truth' gradually increased at the expense of historical narrative and reached the point of departure between antiquarian presentations of the 'trophy of time' from the composition of narratives of past events at the end of the seventeenth century. For Lipsius and his contemporaries, however, the first-hand inspection of remains of the past was a revelation. It was their encounter with classical Rome. In his fictitious dialogue during their walk around Leuven, Lipsius both surprised his pupils and convinced them of this method. The form of the dialogue was also used to discuss and assess different sources on the same topic. This source critique was embedded in the pedagogical tool of the conversation. In his fictitious discussion of the establishment of the title of Duke of Lotharingia and Brabant, for instance, Lipsius responded to a suggestion from one of his pupils for a possible explanation referring to the recently published *Annales Regni Francorum* with a reference

³⁷ Jan Papy, 'An Antiquarian Scholar between Text and Image? Justus Lipsius, Humanist Education, and the Visualization of Ancient Rome', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35/1, 2004, pp. 97–131.

³⁸ In this context Jan Papy referred to Lipsius' scribbled notes "ego vidi" in the margins of the manuscript of his "Auctarium inscriptionum antiquarium" (1588). Papy, 'An Antiquarian Scholar', p. 105.

to the texts of Roderich of Toledo and, again, Sigebert of Gembloux.³⁹ Lipsius also included fictitious speeches into his text. He transformed, for instance, the verses taken from the *Rijmkroniek* of Jan van Heelu on the battle of Worringen in 1288 into a fierce speech by Jan I of Brabant to his soldiers on the eve of the battle.⁴⁰ References to the requirements and topics of classical oratory so frequently discussed by intellectuals in search of the definition of *Historia* are obvious here, and were certainly included to firmly embed the book in the humanist Ciceronian and Quintillian tradition.

In terms of a political programme that went beyond the stated aim of praising the city—and, perhaps more importantly, Lipsius' prosperous friend Charles de Croÿ—the reader would detect a clear emphasis on Leuven's medieval past. The extensive historical overview of the history of Brabant, into which the history of Leuven was embedded, however, did not go beyond 1482 when the Burgundian possessions passed to the house of Habsburg. Only in Lipsius' survey of the most important buildings of the city, and here, most obviously in his discussion of the religious houses, was the reader occasionally led into the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Events of the war, which had such a serious effect on Leuven, not least when the university had to temporarily close down in 1579, were excluded from his story. The decline of the city, which Lipsius frequently bemoaned, was, in this version, not directly related to the Eighty Years' War. This refusal to comment on the conflict might be due to several factors. Firstly, when Lipsius returned to Leuven and was appointed Historiographer Royal, he conspicuously refrained from writing anything relating to the Revolt. He also categorically refused to comment on the conflict. His refusal to incor-

³⁹ The whole debate is probably taken from Wolfgang Lazius' *De gentium aliquot migrationibus*, Basle 1557, Johannes Molanus' *Lovenensium*, Antwerp 1592 and Pierre Pithou, *Annalium et historiae Francorum*, Paris 1588. See Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 295 footnotes 171, 172.

⁴⁰ Jan van Heelu, *Rijmkroniek*, Brussels ca. 1440. Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 169–170 (Lipsius-text, pp. 64–65). A fictitious dialogue between the Count of Nassau and Duke Jan of Brabant is also included, a few lines after the speech. This episode might have been included as an echo of the current war: here, the Duke of Brabant, who had captured Count Nassau, accused the latter of having started an unjust war against him, but he eventually forgave his attacker, who then legally acquired land in Brabant and lived on his possession peacefully for many years.

⁴¹ See, for instance, Lipsius' description of Leuven's Saint Peter's church, which suffered from neglect. Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 203 (Lipsius-text, p. 81).

porate this episode into the history of Leuven might, therefore, have been part of a personal response to his recent life and career change. A more intellectual reason might have been the academic distinction between a *Historia* and a *Descriptio*, which has already been discussed earlier in this study. Although Lipsius employed the rhetorical devices often found in histories—indirect and fictitious direct speech, exemplary stories—he chose the form of a *Descriptio* for his presentation. A coverage of the last 150 years or so was thus neither expected nor appropriate in the contemporary understanding of the genre.

What is noticeable, however, in his coverage of the remote past is an emphasis on Lotharingian and Burgundian roots and their connection to Brabant in general and to Leuven in particular.⁴² When discussing Henry I, Duke of Brabant, Lipsius referred to him not using this title, but as the Duke of Lotharingia, an alternative title which in 1203 had been reduced to an honourable title without any territorial basis. The same Henry I appeared again as the Duke of Lotharingia a few pages later. When questioned about this nomenclature by his pupils, Lipsius conceded that the name Brabant apparently became more popular and gradually replaced Lotharingia.⁴³ Lotharingia, however, reappeared in the poem “Leuven Speaks” at the end of the book, in the form of a reference to Emperor Lothar, who gave the “regni” its name. The reference to a Burgundian nomenclature appeared in Lipsius’ coverage of the marriage between Maximilian of Habsburg and Mary of Burgundy, which was the basis of the Habsburg rule in the Low Countries. Here, Burgundy was likened to “Belgicam”. It can be argued that this terminology, the continuity of the former Lotharingia to Burgundy is no coincidence; neither is it a rebuff of the Brabanters. Luc Duerloo has recently pointed out that the ideological, but also the political programme of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella was aimed at the revival of the Burgundian state. The Archdukes had deliberately chosen 30 November as the day on which they were sworn in as the new rulers of the Habsburg Netherlands. This was the feast day of Saint Andrew, one of the patron saints of the Burgundian dynasty, whose symbol, the saltire, adorned the Burgundian flag. The rather unusual, sometimes unclear and, as it turned out, short-lived, construction of

⁴² Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 131, 141, 151 (Lipsius-text, pp. 45, 50, 55).

⁴³ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 123 (Lipsius-text, p. 41).

the Spanish Netherlands under archducal, rather than direct Spanish power, and which has been aptly labelled “Dependent Independence”,⁴⁴ was chosen to copy the Burgundian state of the fifteenth century (with feudal and dynastic links not to France, but to Spain). The Burgundian dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold had, in turn, referred to the Lotharingian past of the territory when trying to find precedent for their ambitions for royal status.⁴⁵ The splendour of the Burgundian court was certainly replicated by the Archdukes, incorporating new aesthetic and artistic trends into the ceremonies and the daily life in the palace. Albert revived symbols of Burgundian power at his court, encouraged research into the Burgundian past, and re-introduced rituals from Burgundian times. This Burgundian revival must have been communicated to the Historiographer Royal, whose appointment was renewed by Albert and Isabella, and it can be argued that Lipsius responded to these ambitions of the Archdukes in his book.⁴⁶ The emphasis on the Low Countries’ Burgundian past would not antagonize or bewilder the recipient of his book, Charles de Croÿ, whose family had already served the Burgundian rulers at the highest level.

The other striking observation in Lipsius’ book which did not always meet with the approval of Leuven’s citizens was his strong emphasis on ordinary men and their industries in the city, which were recounted in great detail.⁴⁷ In this respect, Lipsius remained within the Humanist remit of civic history. Leuven’s citizens, however, were not always presented in the best light. Lipsius used his account of important events in the city’s past in a typically humanist way by presenting the history of Leuven as a series of exemplary stories, from which the reader should draw timeless, moral lessons. In this respect he again

⁴⁴ Werner Thomas, ‘Andromeda Unbound. The Reign of Albert & Isabella in the Southern Netherlands’, in: *ibid.*, Luc Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella 1598–1621*, Turnhout (Brepols) 1998, pp. 1–14, here p. 2.

⁴⁵ Graeme Small, ‘Of Burgundian dukes, counts, saints and kings’, in: D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, Jan Veenstra (eds.), *The ideology of Burgundy. The promotion of national consciousness 1364–1565*, Leiden (Brill) 2006, pp. 151–187.

⁴⁶ Luc Duerloo has detailed the Archdukes’ programme of Burgundian revival in a paper given at the Low Countries Seminar of the Institute of Historical Research, London on 20 January 2006: Luc Duerloo, ‘The rebirth of Burgundy, the (re-) construction of sovereignty under the archdukes’. Duerloo is currently working on a monograph on Archduke Albert, in which he will further elaborate this topic.

⁴⁷ Lipsius commented, somewhat bewildered, on the criticism of some Leuvenaers, who bemoaned the dismissal of their origin myths, and who also did express disapproval of his emphasis on ordinary men and Leuvenaers of poor character in a letter to Andreas Schott, cited in Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 173–174.

replicated his and his peers' approach to Roman history, which he had studied so intensely some thirty years earlier. He frequently used the term "exempla", notably when describing the fall of the city due to selfishness and pride.⁴⁸ This is particularly highlighted in the story of one Lodewijk Pynnock, long-term *burgomaster* of the city, who joined the party sent out to Vienna to accompany Maximilian of Austria en route to his bride Mary of Burgundy. In an effort to make an impression, Pynnock apparently spent more than he could afford on his journey, and died a poor man back in Leuven.⁴⁹ Other stories with moral messages were scattered throughout the historical account of the city. They had leading characters taken from the city's past, often engaged in fictitious dialogue, thus creating the image of a play within the play of the dialogue between Lipsius and his students.⁵⁰ The underlying master narrative of Leuven, however, was a story of transformation. The city had exchanged her former prominence in the cloth trade and other industries for the status of a national and international centre of learning. Where once the splendid Cloth Hall took pride of place, it was now overshadowed by an ensemble of university buildings in the centre of the city which were clearly delineated on the city map (in half-'bird's-eye' view) included as page 79 in Lipsius' description of the city.⁵¹ In an elegant reference to the Roman goddess Minerva, who was renowned for her expertise in spinning and weaving, but who was also the patroness of arts and sciences, Lipsius made it quite clear to his students (and to his readers) that firstly, Leuven had fallen into decay due to her former overflow of riches, which had created pride, greed and selfishness, and secondly, that these former material riches were now replaced by a much more valuable treasure, the university.⁵²

It has been pointed out that Lipsius' transfer from Leiden to Leuven came with an intellectual 'price tag'. Although Lipsius did not write about the recent wars, he felt obliged, and was probably also pressurized, not just by his Catholic peers in Leuven, but perhaps even more

⁴⁸ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 149 (Lipsius-text, p. 54, Title).

⁴⁹ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 151–153 (Lipsius-text, pp. 55–56).

⁵⁰ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, pp. 175–185 (Lipsius-text, pp. 67–72).

⁵¹ The map also showed the five men on their walk, accompanied by Lipsius' two dogs Saphyrus and Mopsus. On Lipsius and his dogs see Jan Papy, 'Hondenpsychologie by Justus Lipsius', *Brabantse geschiedenis en folklore* 282, 1994, pp. 157–171 and his 'Lipsius and His Dogs. Humanist Iconography and Rubens's Four Philosophers', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62, 1999, pp. 167–198.

⁵² Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 147 (Lipsius-text, p. 53).

by his royal employers, to produce works, which expressed a confessional statement. One year before he wrote his *Lovanium*, and then again a year later he produced two hagiographical texts in praise of the miraculous Madonnas of Hal (near Brussels) and of Zichem, also in Brabant. His *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (Antwerp 1604) was a praise of the shrine of the Madonna of Hal and her miraculous powers. The cult was central to the devotional programme of the Archdukes, who made weekly pilgrimages to the Virgin.⁵³ Lipsius' work was thus part of his task as a Historiographer Royal, but it seems that he himself was not always at ease with this 'confessional turn' in his oeuvre.⁵⁴ His second book devoted to the cult of the Virgin, *Diva Sichemensis, sive Aspricollis* appeared one year later, in 1605. While widely read and reproduced in the Catholic world, these two devotional tracts seriously damaged the Humanist image of Lipsius, a man who had once risen above the confessional polemics of his time.⁵⁵ In his *Lovanium*, the confessional approach to the topic which would become the trademark of later chorographical studies in the South cannot be detected—except for a brief appeal to the Blessed Virgin Mary for her protection in his poem on Leuven University.⁵⁶ As has been pointed out, Lipsius referred to medieval authors and anonymous texts, namely Regino of Prüm, Otto of St. Blasien, and the *Annales Fuldenses* as authoritative sources for the Middle Ages. These, however, were not presented as distinctly Catholic works and they did not carry a Catholic or even a Christian message, but were used to disentangle the complicated and changing power structures in early medieval Brabant. Lipsius covered only briefly three hagiographical works in his book, namely the *Vita*

⁵³ On the Counter-Reformation policy of the Archdukes see Luc Duerloo, 'Pietas Albertina'.

⁵⁴ See his epistolary exchange with Marcus Welser, cited in Markus Völkel, 'Das Verhältnis von religio, patriae, confessio and eruditio bei Marx Welser', in: Herbert Jaumann (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz) 2001, pp. 127–141, here pp. 137–139. Opinions on Lipsius' Catholicism, however, are divided amongst Lipsius scholars. See, for instance, Markus Völkel, 'Zur "Textlogik" im Dictionnaire von Pierre Bayle, Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung des Artikels Lipsius (Lipse, Juste)', in: *LIAS* 20, 1993, pp. 193–226, esp. 212–217. See also Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 317, footnote 364. See also Werner Thomas, 'Martín Antonio Del Río and Justus Lipsius', *Bulletin van het Belgisch historisch instituut te Rome* 78, 1998, pp. 345–366.

⁵⁵ For the acceptance of his books see Luc Duerloo, 'Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power', in: *ibid.*, Werner Thomas, (eds.), *Albert & Isabella*, pp. 267–283, here footnote 66.

⁵⁶ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 227 (Lipsius-text, p. 93).

Eligii, Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*.⁵⁷ These texts, however, were only cited to establish the seniority of Leuven vis-à-vis Antwerp and Brussels. Even the reference to Saint Willibrord did not lead to any comments on the Christian mission in Brabant or Leuven. Christianity and christianization were not key events in the history of Brabant presented here. Characters who could have been used to set out a Christian programme, such as Charlemagne, were briefly mentioned, but not in any way related to any missionizing effort or the establishment of Christian institutions in the area. Lipsius' survey of Brabant's and Leuven's past was thoroughly secular. If the readers were looking for a marker of identity in Leuven, they would find it in the references to the Lotharingian past, but not in references to the Catholic world. Likewise, the coverage of Leuven's sacred buildings, especially the prominent St. Peter's Kerk did not lead Lipsius to a reference to early christianization or saintly activities in the city—although St. Peter's hosted a miraculous Madonna of the Seven Wisdoms.⁵⁸ Lipsius briefly mentioned the "pietas" of the Leuvenaars, but then moved on to the charitable activities of notable citizens and to the clerical establishment in the city.⁵⁹ Although he presented the numerous churches, monasteries and nunneries in the city and the vicinity, Lipsius' Leuven was not a sacred space. In Lipsius' account, the city was devoid of any saints, relics or miracles. Where holy men such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were mentioned, they appeared as learned visitors to the city, not as patrons with any sacred mission or exuding sacral power.⁶⁰ It is not the task of this study to add further arguments to the speculation over Lipsius' Catholicism. In his later years he clearly found literary forms in which he could express his personal Marian devotion, which he had already demonstrated by his membership of the Marian sodality in Leuven.⁶¹ In his

⁵⁷ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 133 (Lipsius-text, p. 46). On these texts see Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, footnotes 192, 193, 194.

⁵⁸ Lipsius' *Diva Virgo Lovaniensis*, a dedication to the Virgin of Leuven written in analogy to his work on the Virgins of Halle and Zichem, remained unpublished and is still preserved as a manuscript in Leuven's University Library (ms Lips 12). On the manuscript see Jeanine de Landtsheer, 'Justi Lipsi Diva Lovaniensis: an unknown treatise on Louvain's Sedes Sapientiae', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 92, 1997, pp. 135–142.

⁵⁹ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 201 (Lipsius-text, p. 80).

⁶⁰ Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 209 (Lipsius-text, p. 84).

⁶¹ On Lipsius' Marian devotion see Papy (ed.), *Justus Lipsius. Leuven*, p. 317, footnote 364.

chorographical writings confessional statements had almost no room. Influenced by his thoughts on the presentation of classical Rome, his *Lovanium* was a collection of exemplary stories with timeless, moral messages to its readers. It was beautifully written and beautifully presented, and certainly deserves more attention that it has so far received.

CHAPTER SIX

CRUSADER KINGS AND WARRIOR SAINTS: GERAARDSBERGEN

The last case of Southern urban chorographies discussed in the present study features the chorographical presentation of a border town in Flanders, on the fringes of power and influence. It thus provides a Southern example of urban chorography on the periphery of the Spanish Netherlands. An additional incentive for the selection of Geraardsbergen in East Flanders was that the city was not just part of the general compendia of Southern chorographers such as Jean Baptiste Gramaye and later Antonius Sanderus, but found her own, native historian in the person of Joannes van Waesberghe, a canon of the collegiate church of St. Omaars te Lilaar with a doctorate in Law and a keen interest in promoting the history of his hometown. With a study of, firstly Gramaye's; secondly van Waesberghe's, and lastly Sanderus' treatments of Geraardsbergen, a diachronic approach to the chorographical surveys of the city becomes possible. Gramaye's *Gerardimontium Oppidum* first appeared in his collection *Antiquitates comitatus Flandriae* in 1611; van Waesberghe's *Gerardimontium* was published in 1627 and Sanderus' *Flandria Illustrata*, which also covered Geraardsbergen, appeared in 1641. All three texts were written in Latin. With the exception of Sanderus' *Flandria* they were not translated in the vernacular.¹

In preparation for his chorographical survey of Flanders, Jean Baptiste Gramaye also visited Geraardsbergen, a city once among the most prominent and, indeed, most prosperous, towns in Flanders before the Eighty Years' War; Geraardsbergen's citizens had made their fortune in the late Middle Ages in the textile industry and

¹ The *Antiquitates* were reissued in Brussels (Gebr. Tserstevens) and Leuven (Aegidium Denique) in 1708 under the same title. A Flemish translation of Gramaye's text on Geraardsbergen has been published by the Geschied- en Heemkundige Kring Gerardimontum under the title: *Jean-Baptiste Gramaye: 'Gerardimontium Oppidum' (1611). De oudste geschiedschrijving van de stad Geraardsbergen*, Geraardsbergen, 2004.

particularly in tapestry weaving.² The city developed a rich civic culture, with a *rederijkerskamer*, a chamber of rhetoric, whose activities were not only intertwined with the civic calendar of Geraardsbergen, but were also closely connected with similar institutions across Flanders.³ Geraardsbergen bordered both Flanders, Hainaut and Brabant, and this sometimes precarious position had influenced the city's history and historiography. In its complicated past Geraardsbergen had been part of what was known as Imperial Flanders, an area which had been granted as a feudal loan to the expansionist Count Baldwin V of Flanders by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1050. The region was later renamed the "Land van Aalst" after its largest city and administrative headquarters. In 1166 it became fully incorporated into the possessions of the counts of Flanders. Geraardsbergen prospered in the Middle Ages and became one of the centres of Flanders' then flourishing textile industry. With the decline of this sector, the city's fortunes also declined. As a strongly fortified place in a sometimes turbulent border area, it nevertheless remained of central importance to its overlords. The city did pride herself on having the oldest city rights in Flanders, granted by Count Baldwin VI in 1067. She could also pride herself on being an important religious centre, with the Benedictine Abbey of St. Adrian, transferred from Dikkelvenne to Geraardsbergen in 1096. The abbey, which hosted relics of the fourth-century warrior saint Adrian, became a centre for pilgrimage, and flourished particularly in the fifteenth century.⁴

While working on his survey, Gramaye might have visited the place at some time between 1608 and 1610. This was not the best time for Geraardsbergen, which had suffered substantially during the political upheavals and military campaigns of the second half of the sixteenth century. The city had undergone the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, and was repeatedly plundered and occupied by Spanish and Orangist forces in the 1570s and 1580s. In 1580 most citizens had fled Geraardsbergen due to the war. A Protestant regime was temporarily installed.

² For late medieval Geraardsbergen see Peter Stabel, *De kleine stad in Vlaanderen: Bevolkingsdynamiek en economische functies van de kleine en secundaire stedelijke centra in het Gentse kwartier (14de tot 16de eeuw)*, Brussels (Paleis der Academiën) 1995, pp. 90–94.

³ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 2008.

⁴ Saint Adrian was martyred in Nicomedia on 4 March 306.

Many inhabitants had been murdered or died of plague epidemics. In 1588 only 163 houses were still habitable, while Geraardsbergen had accumulated substantial debts. Regular Spanish garrisons, which were kept in the city after her final capture by Alexander Farnese in 1594, brought further costs, and angered the local population, which suffered the ill-disciplined behaviour of the foreign armies. Only with the arrival of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in 1598, and then again with the Twelve Years' Truce, could Geraardsbergen enjoy a period of respite and modest economic recovery.

Gramaye might have caught a glimpse of this renewal when carrying out his research trip. His *Gerardimontium* formed one chapter in a compendium on the histories of a number of Flemish towns and cities which he had produced before the publication of the *Antiquitates* in 1611. The text also appeared in another compendium, *Rerum Flandricarum Primitiae*, in Antwerp in 1612, giving testimony to the popularity of Gramaye's studies.⁵

Gramaye's text provided a dense and fairly standardized survey of the city's history and topography. It was not adorned with pictures or any additional visual aids.⁶ The book began with a survey of the city's rather complicated political past and her role within the changing aristocratic allegiances in the High Middle Ages. At the heart of Gramaye's discussion was, not surprisingly, Geraardsbergen's position vis-à-vis Brabant, Hainaut and the Holy Roman Empire. The discussion was based on original legal documents which Gramaye claimed to have seen, and to which he referred in his text.⁷ Etymological explanations of the place name were clearly secondary in his argument. While acknowledging that the name of the city was obviously a marker of her origins, he referred to the eponymous Gerald only when he discussed a document by Baldwin van Bergen (ca. 1039–1070), also known as Baldwin VI Count of Flanders and Baldwin I of Hainaut. This stated that his father, Baldwin van Rijssel, otherwise Baldwin V Count of Flanders, had acquired the area from the said Gerald, and had named the town that he established after him. The document cited in Gramaye's text further outlined, how Baldwin the Elder extended

⁵ Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Rerum Flandricarum Primitiae*, Antwerp (Christophe Beys) 1611–1612.

⁶ I have used the edition preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. The edition of 1708 appeared with illustrations.

⁷ Gramaye, *Antiquitates*, 1611, *Oppidum Gerardimontium*, p. 40/41.

his possessions in the surrounding area in order to provide a sufficient infrastructure and a hinterland for his new settlement, and involved the Lords of Boelare in the enterprise. The reader was then told how Baldwin tried to secure his settlement with a number of rights and privileges, which had been agreed with the neighbouring barons of Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut. These were carefully incorporated in full in the text. There followed a detailed outline of the geographical boundaries of the area. Further privileges, and in particular, the judicial independence of the city under the Burgundian rule, were presented. This was followed by the topographical description of the city. It was introduced by Gramaye's observation that as the fourth city in Flanders, Geraardsbergen had been a prosperous and populous place, but, as a border town, it had suffered particularly from the many internal and international wars of the past, and was now a shadow of her former self. No specific battles or campaigns were mentioned. The recent war, which had only just come to a halt with the Twelve Years' Truce, did not feature at all in Gramaye's survey. In the description, the town walls and gates and the churches were highlighted. The city herself was firmly located within the surrounding region outlining the connections between Geraardsbergen and neighbouring towns as far west as Antwerp. Gramaye also described the natural resources around the city, such as forests, fields and rivers. After a brief discussion of the city's coat of arms, which, with its black double-headed eagle, still echoed that of her former overlord, the Holy Roman Emperor, Gramaye outlined in some detail the rights and privileges of Geraardsbergen's citizens. He then discussed their language—Flemish, interspersed with Hainaut words and phrases—and the piety of the people, who were good Catholics even in times of crisis when the rest of Flanders was on fire with the Iconoclastic Fury, and who never betrayed their masters, the Counts of Flanders, thus, by extension, Charles V, Philip II, and now the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Gramaye then outlined the government of the city, following this with a survey of the religious organization of Geraardsbergen. The religious world of Geraardsbergen was thoroughly covered by the presentation of its churches, monasteries and charitable institutions. Pride of place was given to the Abbey of St. Adrian, whose relics and their miraculous power were mentioned here alongside some notable abbots and their politics. The reader was referred repeatedly to another, more detailed study which Gramaye promised to write about the city, but which never appeared. As elsewhere in Gramaye's oeuvre, continuity and tradition were the

underlying themes of his treatment of the city. In his presentation of noteworthy abbots, he jumped between eleventh- and early seventeenth-century personalities, but he omitted the more recent past in the 1580s when the abbey had to be abandoned. He also managed to link the city both to the wider world and to the Crusades when he referred to Baldwin of Jerusalem, who was, probably, mistaken here for Robert II of Jerusalem as the ruler responsible for the transfer of the abbey from Dikkelve to Geraardsbergen. In this way readers were not only reminded of the city's importance as a pilgrimage site and a centre of Benedictine monasticism, but also of the prestige and international, Christian agenda of Flanders' overlords.

These themes were also, not surprisingly, within Gramaye's chorographical repertoire. He commonly discussed the customs and privileges of the town, its institutions, including its guilds and fraternities, and the turning points in its history. His treatment of sacred history covered the religious houses and charitable institutions and other aspects of Catholic sanctity. On the other hand his discussion of the people remained rather general and, in the case of Geraardsbergen, only mentioned their heroic and unfaltering faith in the Catholic Church.⁸ When the recent war was discussed, he was disappointingly vague, only referring to "the fury of the mad heretics".⁹ In this respect, Gramaye kept within the boundaries of the contemporary Catholic historiography which we have already outlined when treating the chorography of Antwerp.

Joannes van Waesberghe's discussion of his native city was much more detailed, though he generally used the same strategy. Van Waesberghe was a member of a noble Catholic family with roots in Sint-Maria-Lierde in East Flanders. Until 1583 his family had lived in Ghent, before they had been forced to leave the city when the Calvinist regime was established there in 1577. Van Waesberghe dedicated his book to Claudio de Croÿ-Roeulx, who was then representative of the Archduchess Isabella in Geraardsbergen, and to the town magistracy.

In his dedication, van Waesberghe cited his patriotic feelings as the motor for his enterprise, pointing out that the history of his own family gave him both the incentive and expertise to undertake this task.

⁸ Gramaye, *Gerardimontium*, p. 43.

⁹ Gramaye, *Gerardimontium*, p. 43.

There are no references to any rhetorical requirements, no classical or biblical citations, nor any other indicators of van Waesberghe's intellectual background or approach to his topic. He clearly stated, however, that he wanted to present "quod civitatis vestre primordia tu sacra tu prophana, progressus, dominos, politiam, praerogatus, ornamenta, bello ac pace prospera, & adversa, territorium, eiusque memorabilia continet".¹⁰ He thus followed the conventions which were considered by contemporary scholars as essential elements of antiquarianism. So he covered the prerogatives of the city, its prosperity in war and peace, and its outstanding architecture. The text itself was not adorned with engravings, although it occasionally included poems, and referred to and cited important documents as well as other, mostly contemporary or near-contemporary, historians. These include Gramaye, the Amersfoorter cleric Michael ab Isselt, and the Flemish scholar David Lindanus.¹¹ Whether he had first-hand access to the documents that he cited or whether he simply took over his extracts from Gramaye and others is not clear. In accordance with Gramaye's model van Waesberghe divided his book into three parts. The first consisted of eight chapters and discussed the civic past and present of the city. Here he treated the town's origins, and wrote a chapter on its leading families, and another on the city's eminent men. The second part covered the sacred history of the place, its religious houses, with a list of the abbots of St. Adrian, and a discussion of the local relics. The third part surveyed the surrounding countryside, which concentrated on the estates of the nobles. Van Waesberghe thus also used a fairly standard template for his account of a city, covering the themes expected of such a study.

It is tempting to compare his study with that of Samuel Ampzing on Haarlem, published only a year after van Waesberghe's *Gerardimontium*. Both authors were 'amateur-historians' whose vocation lay with their respective churches, and who felt the patriotic need to praise their cities. It can be argued that van Waesberghe presented a more comprehensive and rounded work than his northern counterpart. His

¹⁰ Ioannes van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium sive Altera Imperialis Flandriae Metropolis eiusque Castellania*, Brussels (Joannes Meerbecius), 1627, Dedicatia. I have used the copy preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel for this study.

¹¹ Michael ab Isselt, *Sui temporis historia*, Cologne (Quentel) 1602; David Lindanus, *De Teneraemonda libri tres*, Antwerp (Verdussen) 1612.

book was clearly structured, and although it also included poems and verses, these were short additions and did not interfere with the flow of the text as was the case with Ampzing. Van Waesberghe's book was notably shorter than Ampzing's, due in part to the structure and approach he had chosen. Although his book also provided a clear statement for his religious conviction, van Waesberghe did not embark on theological deliberations or polemics. Though he did cover the recent wars in some detail and clearly took sides, he, like Gramaye, did not explicitly identify the enemies in those wars or find it necessary to elaborate on their theological faults. The Iconoclastic Fury in Flanders in 1566, for example, was simply ignited by "fanatics".¹² Elsewhere when he recounted the capture of Geraardsbergen by rebel forces, he called these "Haereticos"-Heretics- or "Geusij".¹³ In his eyes, the Dutch Revolt was clearly and unambiguously the product of fanatical Protestantism. That the enemies of Catholicism and Philip II were misguided and wrong was self evident. Given that in the early phase of the Dutch Revolt the sympathies with the Spanish loyalists and the rebels by no means coincided with the subsequent north-south division of the Low Countries, this interpretation made sense. Dividing lines were blurred by social divisions and economic discontent, while the centre of anti-Spanish activity had initially been in the core provinces of Flanders and Brabant and, more specifically, in the urban strongholds of Antwerp and Ghent, with their strong Calvinist minorities. While it was easier for Northern chorographers to externalize the enemy as the invading forces of the Spanish army and to create a picture of civic unity in the face of an occupying military force (a strategy, which, however, overlooked the disunities during the early years of the war, as we have seen in the case of Haarlem), the great conflicts in the South ran across the various social groups and factions within cities and in the countryside. In this respect, the Eighty Years's War really was a civil war and reconciliation after the re-establishment of the Spanish regime in Brabant and Flanders consequently difficult.¹⁴ The strategy employed

¹² van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 96.

¹³ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 97.

¹⁴ For the politics of reconciliation in the Southern Netherlands see Violet Soen, *Resistance and Reconciliation during the Dutch Revolt (1564–1598)*, unpublished PhD dissertation, KU Leuven 2008. See also her 'De reconciliatie van 'ketters' in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden (1520–1590), *Trajecta*, 14,5, 2005, pp. 337–362. See also Alastair Duke, 'Confessional and Political Affiliations during the Revolt of the Netherlands: the Shifting Loyalties of Jean Haren (c.1545–c.1613)', *Handelingen van*

by Southern chorographers to cope with the painful memories of civic discord and strife was to largely edit out events relating to the recent past. Where comments on the Eighty Years' War slipped into their stories, the enemy was discredited as *Geuzen*. Opposition forces were described as "heretics" and "fanatics" (using the same nomenclature that their Northern counterparts employed to characterize the Spanish king and his forces). Alternatively, the enemies were summatively labelled "Hollanders", a term used by Spanish commentators and historians of the Revolt to describe the rebellious provinces in terms of their mightiest member and also frequently used by Dutch historians when writing about the Northern Netherlands.¹⁵ This strategy made it easier to ignore the involvement of parts of the native local population in these troubles.

In contrast with Samuel Ampzing, van Waesberghe felt no need to explain why the "heretics" held false doctrines. Though we do not know whether the Protestant occupation or the events elsewhere in Geraardsbergen left any traces within the local inhabitants; certainly, according to their seventeenth-century historians, they were never even tempted to change sides.¹⁶ Whether this is a realistic assessment of the situation in the town, whose fortunes and allegiances changed so frequently and dramatically, is difficult to know. Despite its prominent position within East Flanders, there is still no study of the effects of Eighty Years' War on the city.¹⁷ The Farnese victories in 1594 presumably inaugurated an exodus of local Protestants, yet neither this nor any form of Catholic retaliation, was mentioned in any of the texts covering this tumultuous period in Geraardsbergen's past. From van Waesberghe's account it seemed that the city had not been as divided over the issues of the war as Haarlem, and therefore arguments in favour of the return of the Catholic regime were not required. From the Twelve Years' Truce and, later, the Peace of Westphalia, the Spanish Netherlands did not tolerate confessional diversity. This was

het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge, 145,1, 2008, pp. 107–168. For returning exiles in the Dutch Republic see most recently Geert Janssen, 'Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt', *History* 94, 1, 2009, pp. 37–53. Janssen is also working on a larger study of this topic.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem (van Biesen) 1654, p. 22.

¹⁶ Gramaye, *Gerardimontium*, p. 43, van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 99.

¹⁷ See, instead, Victor Fris, *Geschiedenis van Geraardsbergen*, Ghent (Vanderpoorten) 1911.

reflected by the authors writing for the political elite in the country, who took Catholicism for granted and did not allow dissenting views. Any doubts on this position, or any possibility of the tolerance which had been on the agenda during the negotiations between the warring parties in the 1570s, were quite simply edited out.

When van Waesberghe discussed the population, he remained as general as Gramaye. The subject of industry and trade did not feature at all, and where citizens were mentioned, they were, as in Gramaye's text, praised for their steadfastness in matters of faith. Geraardsbergen was then compared with a series of classical cities which had suffered similar defeats and devastations, and whose population, like Geraardsbergen's, was forced into exile.¹⁸ Although van Waesberghe covered the medieval conflicts at great length, he also pointed out that, as a border town, Geraardsbergen had been used to assaults and wars with its neighbours. In this respect he compared the city's experiences with the tumultuous relations between the Italian cities of Mantua and Cremona.¹⁹ Quarrels, and even wars, between the various parts of the Spanish Netherlands, in this case between Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut, were not played down or omitted, as had been the case in some early Northern chorographies. On the contrary, these conflicts, based on the expansionist ambitions of the nobility, were in van Waesberghe's eyes, the norm so that a strong overlord was required to prevent them; in this respect, he argued, both the Burgundian and the Habsburg rulers had so far been successful.²⁰ This interpretation, highlighting the need for a strong figurehead, certainly had resonance in the pro-Spanish establishment of his time. As Alastair Duke has recently reminded us, not all 'rebels' were naturally republican. The concept of a powerful leader who would hold together the mixture of provincial and urban privileges prevalent in the Low Countries appealed, at least in the first phase of the uprising, to many in both camps.²¹

The list of Geraardsbergen's eminent men at the end of the first part of the book firmly focused, as the title suggests, on men who had made their names through their writings in theology, but also in other

¹⁸ Classical exemplars are: Tyrus, Thebens, Troy, Carthage, Persepolis, Sagunt and Jerusalem. See van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 103.

¹⁹ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 74.

²⁰ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 103.

²¹ See Alastair Duke, 'Confessional and Political Affiliations during the Revolt of the Netherlands'.

academic disciplines.²² The list included Hieronymus Triverius, a doctor of medicine and professor in Leuven, and the linguist and physician Peter Castellan who taught in Leuven and was renowned for his oration he delivered at the funeral of the deceased Archduke Albert. Despite his dislike on “heretics”, van Waesberghe did not shy away from including Daniel Heinsius in the list, although he could have easily omitted a Protestant intellectual who was not even born in Geraardsbergen, but whose parents had migrated from the city to Ghent before Daniel’s birth. Nonetheless, while van Waesberghe acknowledged that Heinsius adhered to the wrong confession, he could still praise the Leiden professor for his outstanding erudition in many areas.²³

When he came in the second part of his book to discuss the sacred space in Geraardsbergen, he began with a clear statement in support of the reorganization of the dioceses by Philip II, an issue that had been so hotly debated on the eve of the Dutch Revolt. In this way van Waesberghe once again made it clear, where his loyalties lay. He then covered the ecclesiastical jewel of Geraardsbergen, the Abbey of St. Adrian.²⁴ Here, he included the document ordering the transfer of the abbey from Dikkelvenne to Geraardsbergen. He also highlighted the importance of the relics of the saint and their miraculous power, which was presented in some detail and proceeded to make Geraardsbergen out to be a major centre for pilgrimage, which not only hosted the relics of the venerable Adrian, but a whole range of other holy relics.

Van Waesberghe did not altogether exclude the Revolt, but he, as Gramaye, made continuity, rather than dramatic change, the focus of his attention. This was again evident in the following chapter where he listed the abbots and emphasized their importance not only for the abbey, but also as politicians and men of influence in the region. Likewise, the other churches and religious houses and their eminent men and women as well as their local benefactors and benefactresses, were listed in detail. This part of the book, the presentation of the sacred

²² “Elogia virorum illustrium Sanctitate, 6 Doctrina Gerardimontensium”, p. 132.

²³ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 144. Van Waesberghe frequently referred to Valerius Andreae’s *Bibliotheca Belgica* as the source of his information, and was probably of the opinion that what was acceptable for Andreae was also good enough for his list.

²⁴ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, pp. 148–162.

time and space of the city occupied about a third of the whole volume. The third and last part repeated the theme of sacred space around Geraardsbergen. This was a landscape composed of noble houses and possessions, and thronged with abbeys, monasteries, nunneries with their lay and religious inhabitants. The reader was reminded that Geraardsbergen was in close proximity to all the leading centres of Flanders and Brabant including Antwerp and Brussels.²⁵ During the text, however, the reader was frequently led to Ghent—certainly no coincidence given that van Waesberghe's family had lived in Ghent until the war and had left as religious refugees. Not surprisingly, most references to Ghent described the place as a hotbed of iconoclasm and dissent. In terms of a *patria* rhetoric, which is well developed in his text, van Waesberghe frequently used language similar to Ampzing's to describe Geraardsbergen including the term "natale solum" to describe his home town.²⁶ At the same time he firmly contextualized Geraardsbergen into the county of Flanders, more specifically, as can be seen from the sub-title of his book—*sive Altera Imperialis Flandriae Metropolis eiusque Castellania*—Imperial Flanders. The common bond between the neighbouring provinces (and here he concentrated mainly on Hainaut and Brabant) was the Habsburg rule. The city and the land were inhabited by the noble and clerical protagonists of the Habsburg regime. Van Waesberghe had no eye for the economy of his area. Given the noble patron, he had chosen for his work—Claude de Croÿ-Roeulx—he could not have presented a different picture.

He offered a rather tentative and brief etymological interpretation in which he related Hunneghem, which antedated the establishment of Geraardsbergen and occupied the geographical area at the bottom of the hill that gave the Geraardsbergen its name, to the Huns.²⁷ This notion, however, was not further pursued and he passed on quickly to the foundation of Baldwin VI, for which he published the respective documentation. Origin myths and *gentes originum* did not play a part in the search for seniority and *vetustas* in the Spanish Netherlands. While medieval authors had produced genealogical trees relating their noble patrons to Charlemagne and the Trojans, once these line of argument had been exhausted, historians in Brabant and Flanders preferred to

²⁵ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 27.

²⁶ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 99.

²⁷ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, p. 2.

emphasize the existing noble houses, and constructed the seniority of their protagonists through their role in world politics, frequently demonstrated by their involvements in the early Crusades and the continuity between Roman and Christian institutions. This was not difficult, since the area of the Southern Netherlands had become part of the Frankish kingdom in the fourth century and had kept intact many of the legal institutions of the Roman Empire. Unlike their Northern neighbours, historians and chorographers in the South had no need of a new 'master narrative'. Continuity, in terms of both secular and spiritual government, was the underlying theme of their writings, and this was what was expected by their noble and royal patrons. Texts in praise of a region or city treated the most recent events with different intensities. As we have seen, Gramaye's strategy was to play down any upheavals and disruptions and to treat the Dutch Revolt as an uprising of religious fanatics—a passing phase in the history of the country and its Habsburg rulers. A master narrative of the Revolt with recurring episodes was not developed in Southern chorographies, although places like Mechelen and Antwerp had the potential to have acquired the status of martyr-towns similar to Leiden and Haarlem. Even the exodus and return of Geraardsbergen's citizens might have provided sufficient material for a success story of defeat and triumphant return of the faithful. But such a history was not written. Although some events such as the siege of Ostend were celebrated and commemorated in various media, they did not become part of a repertoire that needed to be included in chorographies to confirm to readers the role of the Spanish Netherlands in a long and devastating conflict.²⁸ It is not surprising, however, that both Gramaye and van Waesberghe played down the dissent and the war between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. The Twelve Years' Truce was either still being negotiated or had just been signed when Gramaye embarked on his studies. The idea of a permanent division of the Low Countries was certainly not on the political agenda in Brussels or Madrid and, therefore, any descriptions that made reconciliation impossible, or might have further widened the divide were not advisable in texts commissioned by the Archdukes or written for the nobility in their service.

²⁸ For commemorations of epic sieges in the Southern Netherlands, which were often written by Northern authors for a Northern market, see, for instance, Werner Thomas (ed.), *De val van het nieuwe Troje: het beleg van Oostende 1601–1604*, Leuven (Davidsfonds) 2004.

Seventeen years after van Waeberghe's publication, Antonius Sanderus presented his account of Geraardsbergen in the second part of his *Flandria Illustrata*, the *Flandria Subalterna*. Sanderus was born in Antwerp in 1586. He was the son of a prosperous family, and his grandfather, Jan (or Jean) Sanderus had been the personal physician of Charles V. He studied the Humanities at the Jesuit College in Oudenaarde (and also, perhaps, for a while in Ghent).²⁹ He then went to Douai where he specialised in History, and graduated with a magister artium in 1609. He then undertook further studies in Theology in Leuven. In 1611 Sanderus was ordained at Ghent. From 1611 until 1622 he was parish priest, and later pastor, in Sleidinge in East Flanders. In 1623 he became secretary to Cardinal Alfonso de la Cueva, minister of King Philip IV. In 1625 he was appointed canon of the Chapter of St. Maarten in Ypers with lucrative prebends at Veurne and Therouanne. His heart, however, remained devoted to the study of history. When Eryceus Puteanus died in 1646, Sanderus applied unsuccessfully for the post of Historiographer Royal. Inspired by Jean Baptiste Gramaye, Sanderus became interested in chorographical histories, and started collecting information on his native Flanders from 1627 onwards.

The publication history of the *Flandria Illustrata* will be discussed later and will therefore not detain us here. It is, however, important to mention that the eastern parts of Flanders, and notably Imperial Flanders were clearly separate from what the Ghentenaer Sanderus saw as the heart of Flanders: the prosperous western part of the county. Sanderus specifically mentioned Joannes van Waesberghe's work as the source for his survey of Geraardsbergen, and he followed van Waesberghe's structure when he wrote his own study.³⁰ So the reader was presented with a survey of the city's civic and religious history, a discussion of its origins, Count Baldwin's grant of city rights, and lists of eminent men and the sacred relics kept in Geraardsbergen's churches and abbeys. As in van Waesberghe's work, the survey was then extended to the area around the city, and the possessions of the Houses of Boelare, Schoorisse and Omberghe. The study, which covered eleven pages in two columns, was accompanied by four

²⁹ Details of Sanderus' life are collected in: Carlos de Vleeschauer, 'De Flandria Illustrata van Antonius Sanderus', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique/Archief- en Bibliotheekswezen in België*, XLIX 1-2, 1978, pp. 1-115.

³⁰ He also made references to Gramaye and to Lindanus in the text. Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, pp. 518, 519.

engravings, one double-paged image of the city, and three engravings of the respective mansions of the three noble houses in the area.³¹ Despite his close copy of van Waesberghe's text, there were a number of departures—or, rather, omissions—in Sanderus' version which cannot be attributed simply to the lack of space and the need to shorten van Waesberghe's original book. Although the history of the city was updated to the 1620s, the period of the Eighty Years' War which had the most devastating effects on the city, the 1580s and 1590s, were dealt with even more summarily. In Sanderus' work, the war never happened. Like Gramaye and van Waesberghe, Sanderus emphasized the precarious position of the city on the border between the three prominent and expansionistic territories of Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut. Like the earlier authors, he rather generally commented on the frequent wars—"intestinis, extestinisque motibus"—which affected Geraardsbergen as a result of its geographical position.³² From Sanderus' account one would never suppose that neither the Dutch Revolt nor the Iconoclastic Fury had impinged on Geraardsbergen. Likewise, when Sanderus described Geraardsbergen's citizens, he, like his predecessors, praised their steadfastness in the face of the frequent "calamities" that they had to endure. The nature of these troubles, however, remained obscure.³³ This strategy of ignoring the Eighty Years' War was extended to the presentation of Geraardsbergen's eminent men. While Sanderus otherwise copied van Waesberghe's characters, he relegated the controversial Daniel Heinsius from his position as an eminent son of the city to a brief reference earlier in the text about the establishment of a Hieronymite School in Geraardsbergen which members of Heinsius' family had attended.³⁴ His account created the impression of a city unaffected by confessional strife while the double-page spread of the town preceding the text showed an intact urban environment unscathed by war, devastation or decline. Its Catholic landmarks, especially the parish church of St. Bartholomew and the Abbey of St. Adrian, stood out prominently among various monasteries, nunneries, guild houses used by the fraternities of St. Sebastian, St. Gregory and St. Andrew, a few civic buildings such as the *red-*

³¹ Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, *Flandria Subalterna*, Amsterdam/Cologne (Blaeu) 1644, pp. 517–528.

³² Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, p. 519.

³³ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, p. 522.

³⁴ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, p. 520.

erijkerskamer and some patrician houses, including one described as “*Domus Consulis de Waesberghe*”.³⁵ The top of the mount which gave Geraardsbergen its name was adorned by a Calvary, clearly recognizable not just by the captions, but by a chapel, three crosses replicating the scene of Christ’s death, and a number of wayside chapels. Together with the city’s coat of arms, which was presented at the left side of the picture and featuring, besides the above-mentioned double-headed Imperial eagle, a large cross, the whole scene was an unmistakably sacred. To an even greater extent than his predecessors, Sanderus had transformed Geraardsbergen into a sacred space.

However, in the three studies on Geraardsbergen, the production and consumption of culture in the city was not solely restricted to the activities of fraternities and religious houses. Sanderus devoted considerable space in his survey to the “*Rhymici*”, the rhetoricians in the city.³⁶ Basing himself on van Waesberghe’s text, he not only highlighted their meeting place in the Town Hall in the double-spread engraving of the city, but also discussed the institution and its members in the accompanying text.³⁷ *Rederijkerskamers* had a long and vigorous tradition in the Low Countries, and particularly in Flanders and Brabant, dating back to the fifteenth century, and its members certainly belonged to the ‘middle group’ in urban society and included mostly members of the artisan guilds.³⁸ The *kamers* offered opportunities for training in literary texts and cultural norms for those young men who could not afford to attend a Latin School. Initially started as voluntary organizations attracting men with an interest in plays and conviviality, they were used by the early Burgundian rulers to spread the political message of civic unity in the Low Countries. The chambers participated in urban processions, religious festivals and political manifestations of Burgundian power. They also staged highly popular competitions inviting participants from all over the Low Countries, and thus facilitating the desired sense of pan-Netherlandish unity favoured by the Burgundian rulers. In the sixteenth century, the chambers became centres, and also mouthpieces, of political dissent; they were often associated with the spread of Protestant ideas, and were consequently

³⁵ Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, *Flandria Subalterna*, pp. 518–519.

³⁶ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, p. 520.

³⁷ van Waesberghe, *Gerardimontium*, pp. 35–36.

³⁸ These and the following observations are taken from Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*.

not seen as an asset, but as a threat to the authority of the Habsburgs. After the Iconoclastic Fury, many chambers were forcibly dissolved, others were severely censored and their repertoire restricted to non-controversial themes. By the supporters of the Revolt, however, they were invoked as a sign of the Low Countries' unity. John Junius de Jonghe, for instance, reminded the then governor of Antwerp, Frederick Perrenot in a letter in 1574 of the *rederijkers* competitions which had traditionally created a bond between towns and cities across the Low Countries.³⁹ In the time of the Archdukes the *kamers* regained something of their former role, although now operating within strictly defined guidelines set down by the authorities. It has also been noted that their initial composition of artisans, teachers and other men of similar social status changed in the first half of the seventeenth century, and this is reflected in van Waesberghe's comments which were repeated by Sanderus. Anne-Laure van Bruaene has pointed out that the *rederijkerskamers* did not lose their popularity in this period; on the contrary, many eminent men of the local elite now joined. The institution, however, became a place for social gathering and political conformity rather than a forum to discuss political issues.⁴⁰ Van Waesberghe emphasized the high calibre of the members of Geraardsbergen's chamber, which could look back on a long and distinguished tradition. Initially set up by and for the tapestry weavers in the area, it now included members of the noble families of Montmorency, Schoorisse, Bochoute, Horne, Halewijn, Eechaute, Brakele, Borhuyt, and others. Even Gramaye, in his earlier brief overview on Geraardsbergen, had mentioned the rhetoricians and their elegant prose.⁴¹ These references to an indigenous Netherlandish cultural tradition, whose literary products were delivered in the vernacular certainly matches the emphasis on the new Dutch literature and the new 'literary giants' so strongly promoted in the texts on Amsterdam. Antwerp and Leuven also hosted prominent *rederijkerskamers*, but it is perhaps unsurprising that their chorographers did not highlight these institutions in their surveys. References to 'literary giants' in the Southern Netherlands were incorporated, for instance in Carolus Scribani's *Antver-*

³⁹ See E.H. Kossmann, A.F. Mellink (eds.), *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1974, pp. 119–124, here p. 123.

⁴⁰ van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, pp. 183–188.

⁴¹ Jean Baptiste Gramaye: 'Gerardimontium Oppidum' (1611). *De oudste geschiedschrijving van de stad Geraardsbergen*, Geraardsbergen, 2004, p. 42.

pia, but his gallery of eminent men focused, as might be expected, on clerical authors such as fellow Jesuit Martin del Rio, Laevenius Torrentius, the second bishop of the diocese of Antwerp, and the Spanish lawyer Balthasar Ayala. Authors who wrote in the vernacular had no place in this ensemble. It has been noted that the Jesuits were more concerned with establishing and propagating their own cultural products than in supporting an indigenous cultural repertoire, and much has been written about the role of the Jesuit plays in the Counter-Reformation strategy of the order.⁴² That Jesuit authors did not cover alternative literary and theatrical projects is, therefore, not surprising. Scribani did not mention any plays or theatre companies in his survey of Antwerp's artistic world. Others, however, did: Sanderus mentioned the three *rederijkerskamers* in Dendermonde, for instance; and Gramaye included references to the *rederijkers* in his survey of Mechelen.⁴³ These references can suggest that an indigenous Netherlandish artistic tradition survived in the Southern Low Countries and had not been swept aside, as is sometimes assumed, by the Habsburg Counter-Reformation 'propaganda machine'.

⁴² See, for instance, Fidel Raedle, 'Gegenreformatrischer Humanismus: die Schul- und Theaterkultur der Jesuiten', in: Notker Hammerstein, Gerrit Walther (eds.), *Späthumanismus. Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche*, Göttingen (Wallstein) 2000, pp. 128–147. For the Netherlands see Karel Porteman, '9 september 1616. De heilige Jan Berchmans speelt te Mechelen de rol van de H. Natalia. Het jezuitentoneel in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', in: Robert L. Erenstein (ed.), *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden. Tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 1996, pp. 170–177.

⁴³ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, part 2, pp. 599, see also the map of Dendermonde, pp. 594–595. Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Historie der Antiquiteten vande Stadt ende Provincie van Mechelen*, Mechelen (Jaye) 1667, p. 48. See also Jacob van Lansberghe, *Beschryvinge van de Stadt Hulst*, The Hague (Rammazeyn) 1687, pp. 215–217.

PART III

REGIONAL HISTORIES, REGIONAL VARIATIONS

CHAPTER SEVEN

CENTRE AND PERIPHERY: HOLLAND, ZEELAND, GELDERLAND, DRENTHE AND FLANDERS

Urban chorographies in the Low Countries were complemented by descriptions of regions and provinces, often written by the same men. Johannes Isacius Pontanus is, perhaps, the best example of an author, who felt at ease writing chorographies of cities, provinces and countries. Nor was he the only chorographer who found it equally important, and, one might assume, intellectually rewarding, to study a city and a region. Fellow academics such as Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn and amateurs such as the Reformed ministers Jacob van Oudenhoven and Johan Picardt extensively covered both areas without difficulty.¹ A reason for the synchronic appearance of urban and regional chorographies was the fact that the readership of urban and regional chorographies seemed to overlap. This can also be said to some extent about the patrons of these enterprises. Amsterdam's regents, for instance, were happy to sponsor both chorographies of their city and of the province of Holland.² Moreover, the high degree of urbanization, and the prominence of towns and cities in politics and society in the United Provinces played a major role. Much of the history of the provinces or regions in the Northern Netherlands was therefore written from an urban perspective, and not through the prism of a landed elite. The chorographies of the South offered a much more mixed approach, but here, generally speaking, the landed elite and the members of the ecclesiastical establishment were much more prominent as subjects of the books. Like their urban counterparts, regional histories developed a very different agenda in the Northern and in the Southern Netherlands. This chapter will address both similarities and differences in the genre in its different regional variations. What is attempted is,

¹ Works of Boxhorn, van Oudenhoven and Picardt will be discussed in this chapter. For further details see references below.

² Amsterdam's *burgomasters*, for instance, were praised as the dedicatees of Marcus Boxhorn's chorographical survey of Holland and West Friesland, discussed below. As has been noted in Chapter III, Smetius's text on Nijmegen was dedicated to both the magistrates of Nijmegen and the estates of Gelderland.

again, a comparison between texts on different regions or provinces on a synchronic and on a diachronic level. Competing and contrasting visions of the land will be at the centre of this discussion. We shall consider whether and in what ways issues which have been identified in urban chorographies, and which were identified as markers of an urban identity in earlier chapters, reappeared in similar form in regional descriptions. We shall also consider how the levels of professionalism and academic expertise required for the writing of regional histories changed, not only over time, but also in terms of what might be labelled the study of central or peripheral provinces. Amateur historians often pursued an agenda which differed from the debates among authors at the centres of learning. In this regard, access to sources and their use determined whether a chorography gained academic recognition and sold well or remained confined to the interest of families and friends. Urban chorographers used a whole repertoire of contemporary texts and incorporated for example accounts of funeral processions or Joyous Entries, plays performed in the theatre of Amsterdam and elsewhere, references to architectural programmes and anecdotes and local tales, yet the main 'media-partner' of regional chorographies was undoubtedly the map. Inhabitants of provinces, particularly those living on the frontier including, after 1648, the other Netherlandish state, needed to be informed of the new lines of demarcation. Maps provided the easiest ways to show what was within and what was beyond one's own territory. This might be done through maps showing the ring of fortified border bastions or rivers separating one part of the country from another. Markus Völkel has recently pointed out that Netherlanders in the early modern period had a strong visual image of the geography of the country and could read maps easily, perhaps not least in order to inform themselves about the front lines during the war. This observation has been confirmed by art historians, who have commented on the frequency with which maps appeared in household scenes in Dutch seventeenth-century paintings.³ The map was, it seems, a familiar tool for visualizing identity both in a symbolic and in a very real, geographical sense in the early modern Low Countries. In spite of war and partition, however, maps of the seventeen

³ Markus Völkel, 'Hugo Grotius' Grollae obsidio cum annexis von 1629; Bärbel Hedinger, *Karten in Bildern. Zur Ikonographie der Wandkarte in Holländischen Interieurgemälden des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim (Olms) 1986.

Netherlands remained far more popular than maps of either the United Provinces or the Southern Netherlands throughout the seventeenth century.⁴

As with urban chorographies, there were gaps in the chorographical coverage of provinces and regions in the Low Countries. Core provinces of the Dutch Republic, such as Holland and Zeeland, were extensively discussed, and frequently treated together (with their northern neighbour Friesland). On the other hand, peripheral provinces such as Overijssel or Groningen did not receive their own chorographical treatment. Reasons for this discrepancy are not difficult to find. They were far less urbanized, and so offered fewer possibilities of selling well. Likewise, regions in the Southern Netherlands which were perceived as 'peripheral' received less attention. Whereas Brabant and Flanders were given a number of chorographical descriptions both in Latin and (later) in Dutch translation in their own right, the other provinces, although treated by chorographers such as Gramaye, usually owed their inclusion to their role as ecclesiastical or administrative centres.⁵

This chapter will take the oeuvre of one of the most productive chorographers and most ardent academic advocates of the Dutch Republic as a starting point. Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, professor at Leiden University, wrote a large number of chorographical and historical works using different literary forms, including poems such as his account of the siege of Breda, and translations and re-editions of earlier works.⁶ A selection of his chorographies on Holland, West

⁴ See Henk A.M. van der Heijden, *Oude kaarten der Nederlanden 1548–1794*, 2 vols. Alphen aan den Rijn (Canaletto) 1998, pp. 98–100.

⁵ See, for instance, Jean Baptiste Gramaye, *Antiquitates Comitatus Namurcensis*, Leuven (Masius) 1608; *ibid.*, *Respublica Namurcensis, Hannoniae et Lutsenburgensis*, Amsterdam (Janssonius) 1634. For ecclesiastical and hagiographical coverages of the provinces see, for instance, Aubertus Miraeus, *Rerum Belgicarum annales in quibus Christianae religionis et variorum apud Belgas principatuum origines ex vetustis tabulis principumq. diplomatibus hauste explantur*, Brussels (Peperman) 1624; *ibid.*, *Sancorum Galliae Belgicae imagines et elogia*, Antwerp (Vrients) 1606.

⁶ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Historia Obsidionis Bredae et Rerum Anni 1637*, Leiden (Commelin) 1640; *ibid.* (ed.), *Johan Veldenaer, Chronyck van Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Westvrieslant over omtrent twee honderd jaeren geschreven*, Leiden (Rinnenburch) 1650. For further details on his publications see E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland*, pp. 65–67. Boxhorn is perhaps better known for his political tracts and comments. Jaap Nieuwstraten is currently working on a dissertation on Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *History and Politics in Seventeenth Century Dutch Political Thought* (to be submitted to the Erasmus University Rotterdam). This study promises to provide the first much-needed

Friesland and Zeeland will be presented here. In comparison, two studies of outlying provinces are discussed: namely the histories of Gelderland by Arend van Slichtenhorst and his chorographical predecessors, and the study of Drenthe and Overijssel by Johan Picardt. We shall see how the genre developed over time, beginning with Boxhorn's earliest publication in 1632 and ending with Picardt's works, which were published as late as 1660. The content of the different chorographies expressed the political and, one might argue, cultural place of the different provinces within the Dutch Republic, and shows their authors' attempts to carve out a position for their respective regions vis-à-vis their neighbours.⁷ The studies also testify to the different approaches chosen by historians at the forefront of an academic discussion of Dutch identity on the one hand, and on the other, of amateurs on the periphery of the Dutch intellectual world trying to catch up with the learned debates. Lastly, we shall see the appearance of a younger generation of historians who challenged old orthodoxies; these used established frames of reference, albeit in innovative ways, as they endeavoured to make sense of the past.

Boxhorn's first study on Holland and West Friesland, his *Theatrum Sive Hollandiae Comitatus et Urbium Nova Descriptio*, was initially published in Latin, but translated and printed in Dutch only two years later. This directly provoked a similar enterprise in the South—Antonius Sanderus' *Flandria Illustrata*. In his foreword Sanderus referred to Boxhorn as a role model, whose work on Holland he wanted to complement with a similar study on Flanders. He was so impressed by the calibre of the book, and particularly by its very striking engravings that he used the same publishing house across the border in Amsterdam, a decision which required some deception on his part in order to circumvent the Flemish censors. This "Flemish twin" to Boxhorn's popular work will offer an insight into the different agendas of chorographers north and south of the border both in terms of themes covered in their books and with regard to the development of the genre itself and the requirements of chorographical writing.

biography of Boxhorn, discussing both his contributions to Dutch politics and to Dutch historiography.

⁷ This discussion incorporates some of the findings that I have presented in my "‘Concordia res parvae crescunt’—Regional Histories and the Dutch Republic in the 17th century", in: Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden (Brill) 2006, pp. 229–248.

Although Sanderus took his cue from Boxhorn, he also had to contextualize his own studies within the historiographical conventions developed by academics and intellectuals in the South.

HOLLAND: TOWNS AND CITIES IN A MAN-MADE LAND

Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn was born in Bergen op Zoom in 1612. His father, Jan Zuerius, had been a Calvinist minister in the city and died when Marcus was still a child. After his death Marcus and his mother moved to Breda, where they lived with his maternal grandfather, whose name, Boxhorn, he adopted. Both Bergen op Zoom and Breda were contested border towns in the Eighty Years' War, and suffered Spanish and Dutch sieges during the protracted campaigns of the early seventeenth century. These experiences must have impressed the boy. He went to Leiden University in 1625 and became part of the intellectual circle of historians and antiquarians interested in the history and topography of the Low Countries. His friends and patrons included Johannes Isacius Pontanus, who was also related to Boxhorn through his wife's family, and Petrus Scriverius, both of whom wrote dedicatory poems for the Latin edition of his *Theatrum Sive Hollandiae Comitatus et Urbium Nova Descriptio*.⁸ A year after the publication of the *Theatrum*, in 1633, at barely 21, Boxhorn was appointed to the chair of Eloquence in Leiden and became director of the 'Collegium Oratorum' four years later. In 1648 he was also awarded a chair in History. He died in 1653, exhausted and worn out by his hectic academic life, having published a substantial oeuvre of Latin prose and poetry, discourses on language and literature, political tracts and histories, as well as chorographies of several Dutch provinces and towns.⁹ Like most of his academic peers, he spent considerable time re-editing medieval texts on the Dutch past, which he often updated and enriched with his own comments.¹⁰ The *Theatrum* which was the

⁸ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Theatrum Sive Hollandiae Comitatus et Urbium Nova Descriptio*, Leiden 1632.

⁹ See E.O.G. Haitzma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium*, pp. 65–67.

¹⁰ Besides the reedition of Johan van Reygersberghen's *Chroniick van Zeelandt* (Middelburg 1644), he also reedited and amended Johan Veldenar's *Chronyck van Hollandt, Zeelandt, and Westfrieslandt*, *ibid.*, Leiden 1650. He also reedited Van Reygersberghen's *Beschrijvinghe der Steden van Zeelandt*, which was published in a Dutch translation and reedition of Hadrianus Junius' *Toneel der ghemuurde en onghemuurde*

first of these works was dedicated to the States of Holland and West Friesland. The book was lavishly and beautifully illustrated with regional and city maps from the workshop of Hendrik Hondius in Amsterdam. Its frontispiece showed the by then familiar *Hollandse tuin* (Dutch garden) which was guarded by a lion rampant holding a sword and the coat of arms of Holland.¹¹ The lion was flanked by Neptune on one side and Mercury on the other. The book that was printed by Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe in Leiden, offered an overview of Holland's ancient and medieval past and a survey of forty cities and towns of Holland and West Friesland, which were described in chorographical fashion in separate chapters. Two years after the Latin edition, a Dutch version under the title *Toneel ofte Beschryvinge der Steden van Hollandt* was brought on the market, this time not by Hondius, but by his partner Jacob Keijns, who advertised the new publication in den *Nieuwstijdingen* of the Amsterdamer Jan van Hilten on 28 October 1634.¹² The Dutch translation was the work of Gerard Bardeloos, who, in his introduction, emphasized the close cooperation between himself and the author, who had consented to Bardeloos' version and updated some aspects of the Latin original. Bardeloos pointed out that some of the Latin poems had been left unchanged, because they would lose much of their beauty in a Dutch translation, while others had been omitted altogether in the Dutch edition.¹³ While the Latin version was printed on good-quality paper, the Dutch edition, which was again printed in Leiden, was produced using inferior material. This might indicate that Keijns, who had taken over from Hondius, was in financial difficulties, although more probably he intended to sell the book at a lower price to the more general reader. Keijns certainly expected a wide readership, since the surviving inventory of his household, drawn up in 1637, recorded 535 unbound copies of the *Toneel*.¹⁴ Whether he underestimated the interest in the book and was

steden en vlekken van Hollandt ende Westfrieslandt, by Godfried Boot, Amsterdam 1664.

¹¹ For the iconography of the *Hollandse tuin* see P.J. van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1957, pp. 29–121.

¹² Isabella H. van Eeghen, "Jacob Keijns in 'The Atlas' in Amsterdam 1629–38, and the Hondius family", *Quaerendo* XV, 4, 1985, pp. 273–281, here p. 277.

¹³ Gerard Bardeloos, *Den Oversetter Aen Den Goetgunstighen Leser*, in: Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Toneel ofte Beschrijvinghe des Landts, ende Steden van Hollandt ende West-Vriesland*, Leiden (vander Boxe) 1634.

¹⁴ Isabella H. van Eeghen, 'Jacob Keijns', p. 277.

still left with more copies than he had planned three years after its first publication, or whether it had sold well and Keijns expected it to sell even better in the future, is not clear. The Dutch edition was dedicated to the *burgomasters* and regents of Amsterdam, another indicator of the overlapping interests of landed and urban elites in the production of urban and regional chorographies.¹⁵ Bardeloos wrote the dedication where he presented himself as the initiator of the Dutch version. Boxhorn's original dedication to the States of Holland, in which he had praised the towns of Holland represented in the provincial states according to seniority and status (Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam and Alkmaar) was tactfully omitted. Instead, a poetic response of the States of Holland and West Friesland to the first Latin version was included, praising Boxhorn's work as a long-overdue account of their greatness. Yet Boxhorn did not feel obliged to explain his intellectual aims and the methodology of the work, as Pontanus had done in *Chronographia*. He simply pointed out the gap in scholarship on Holland's and West Friesland's towns and cities and his desire to close it. Boxhorn owed much of his source material to the rich library of his friend and patron Petrus Scriverius, whose support he acknowledged in his introduction, and to whose scholarship he frequently referred in the ensuing text.¹⁶

What is presented is a history of the county of Holland and its early inhabitants followed by a chapter-by-chapter account of the cities and towns of Holland and West Friesland. Each description was accompanied by a strikingly detailed engraving of the place in 'bird's-eye' perspective, which even on poor quality paper has lost little of its sharpness and beauty.¹⁷ The Latin and the Dutch versions used the same prints and the same frontispiece, which were still in the possession of Hendrik Hondius.

Although the book lacks a programmatic statement, Boxhorn's approach, his position in the debate on the validity of historical sources and their interpretation, and his vision of Holland and West Friesland can be gleamed from his text and the accompanying prints.

¹⁵ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Toneel ofte Beschryvinge der Steden van Hollandt, waer in haer Beginselen, Voortganck, Privilegien, Historie ende Gelegentheyte vervat worden...*, Leiden (vander Boxe) 1634.

¹⁶ Boxhorn, *Theatrum*, pp. 32–33.

¹⁷ I have used the Latin and the Dutch copies kept in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

When outlining Holland's origins Boxhorn took a very different approach to that of his mentor Pontanus in his book on Amsterdam. Boxhorn's argumentation was closely based on an etymological interpretation of place names and the names of the tribes living in the area.¹⁸ His interpretation of Holland's remote past, however, apparently owed little to the testimony of Tacitus. Instead of suggesting Latin, Greek or Hebrew origins for place names the emphasis was placed on the influence of the Danes and Scandinavian Vikings, or the Normans, and their influence on the country. The pre-Norman inhabitants of Holland were identified as Frisians and the Batavians, as a *gentium origines* not only for the Hollanders, but for the Dutch nation, do not figure in this version of the past. Boxhorn utilized the etymological considerations prevalent in Renaissance scholarship, but also relied heavily on the more recent theories of historical linguistics as developed by his colleague, the eminent Leiden professor Joseph Scaliger, whose investigations into the Germanic languages are evident from Boxhorn's deliberations on etymological origins of the term 'Holland' and of its inhabitants.¹⁹ He cited either from indigenous authors such as the well-known Cornelius Aurelius or from the records of Egmond Abbey. Other early medieval authors, such as Regino of Prüm, as well as Dutch writers of a later period and contemporaries of Boxhorn, such as Reiner Snoi, Johannes Pontanus, Hadrianus Junius and Johan van Reygersbergen were cited here. 'Synchronism' is certainly also Boxhorn's academic approach: he gave preference to sources written close in time to the events they covered and compared narrative texts critically against contemporary archives. Boxhorn could therefore use Catholic medieval sources rather than dismissing them as 'fables and fabrications'. In place of a discussion of Holland's role in ancient times he gave an analysis of the province's post-Roman history, contextualized within a northern European framework. Boxhorn, who was a fierce critic of early Humanism, with its reverence for, and dependence, on Italian Renaissance scholarship, clearly wanted to rewrite the story of Holland independently of the traditional humanist master narrative which emphasized the influence of ancient Rome on northern Europe. In this respect, he clearly departed from his mentors,

¹⁸ As acknowledged in Boxhorn's statement: "Want de kentnisse van den naem, gelijk de Philosophen seggen, brought ons tot kennisse van de sake selfs", *Toneel*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Joseph Justus Scaliger, 'Diatriba de Europaeorum Linguis', in: *ibid.*, *Opuscula Varia*, Paris 1610.

including Pontanus. Nevertheless, interestingly, both the Batavians and the classical authors returned surreptitiously into the text. Batavia was only mentioned once in Boxhorn's first chapter where he referred to the Dutch settlement in Java of the same name, as an example of how expansionist forces, in this case the Dutch East India Company, used their power to name conquered places or newly established colonies after their own places of origin. By way of analogy Boxhorn referred to the writings of Dionysios Halicarnassos, Polybios and "andere soo Latijnsche als Grieksche History-Schrijvers meer" (other Latin and Greek historians) and the way in which the heroes of their histories named their new homes after members of their families or after the settlements from which they had originated.²⁰ In fact, the mention of Batavia followed these references to Latin and Greek authors and for a moment the reader is left with the expectation that Boxhorn will now re-tell the familiar story of Tacitus' Batavians, before his argumentation takes a surprising twist as he refers his readers to Java in the Chinese Sea. Whether this was just an intelligent game by an intellectual who wanted to ridicule subtly the admiration for the ancients in an older generation or whether he felt the need to show his academic credentials by making the necessary references to the classical texts, is not clear.²¹ It was, perhaps, a little of both. Further arguments in favour of Norman or Gothic origins are based on archaeological evidence –in one case Boxhorn claimed to have seen in a friend's house citing an old "drinkvat" (a beaker) adorned with Gothic lettering.²² In its Dutch translation the whole introduction was written in a learned, but light-hearted tone. It was intended as an 'easy read' even for readers, who were, perhaps, not entirely familiar with the intricacies of Holland's history and the debates about origins that had so exercised Boxhorn's patrons Pontanus and Scriverius.²³ Despite his intention to embed Holland's history firmly in a northern European, post-Roman context, Boxhorn was criticized for paying too much tribute to foreign influences on the country. The discussion of the origins of the lion in Holland's coat of arms where he speculated about French

²⁰ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 3.

²¹ The strategy of using ancient texts by way of analogy was not new. See, for instance, David Chytraeus, *Saxoniae*, 1593.

²² Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 6.

²³ The style chosen to appeal to the general reader is a further indication for Keijns' above-mentioned strategy to market the book relatively cheaply for a wider readership.

or Aquitaine models derived from the family networks of Count Dirk I, disappointed some of his learned readers. Arnoldus Buchelius wrote not to Boxhorn himself, but to his patron Scriverius and suggested that Holland's Counts might not have needed foreign advice when searching for a heraldic symbol.²⁴ Buchelius detected other inaccuracies in Boxhorn's Latin account of Holland's medieval past. These he again reported to Scriverius, rather than to the author himself, though they did not lead to changes in the Dutch edition.²⁵

Boxhorn went to great length to explain the complex legal relations between Holland and Utrecht, which had led to a series of wars in the Middle Ages. However, the heart of the publication was not the ambitions of Holland's medieval nobility, but a presentation of the province as an essentially urbanized space. Although Boxhorn included lists of Holland's noble families, gave a history of the Counts and their relations elsewhere in Europe and a list of provincial governors under the Burgundians and Habsburgs in Chapter VII, the nobility did not play a leading part in his chorography.²⁶ This is most evident in his choice of engravings for the historical part of his book. Boxhorn omitted genealogical tables and heraldic emblems as well as engravings of castles, aristocratic houses or portraits of the rulers and other leading men and women in the country. Where images were included in this part of the book, they were of regional maps of Holland and West Friesland. Even where the old nobility did appear, the passages were juxtaposed by a highly urbanized landscape. These showed land reclamation in the Wormer, Purmer and Beemster marches with their grid pattern of canals and waterways, navigable rivers and the great sea harbours. But what they did not cover were the estates of the nobility. Indeed, the reader was told in the topographical introduction that Boxhorn wanted to omit the castles and manor houses from his survey, because most of them were either in ruins or deserted.²⁷ In his survey of the inhabitants of Holland the nobility were conspicuous

²⁴ Buchelius to Scriverius, 10.09.1632, cited in Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, p. 186.

²⁵ Cited in Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, pp. 186–87.

²⁶ It is interesting to note that for Boxhorn Holland's break with Philip II occurred in 1572, not 1581, the formal oath of Abjuration. See *Toneel*, p. 68.

²⁷ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 11. The nobility in Holland had, indeed, traditionally been less numerous and also less prosperous than, for instance, in Zeeland and elsewhere in the Netherlands. See Henk van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland. From Knights to Regents, 1500–1650*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1993.

by their absence. Instead, the reader was introduced to an industrious people, who were somewhat stubborn, freedom-loving, principled and physically strong, thus echoing the now familiar characterizations taken from Tacitus' *Germania* (though without mentioning the author), which had become part and parcel of all learned discussions of Germanic people in Europe.²⁸ It was at this point that Boxhorn first commented on the Dutch Revolt, when he highlighted the Hollanders' desire for freedom. It was Philip's "onghehoorde tyrannie" and the Inquisition, which caused the Hollanders, who were usually extremely loyal subjects, as Boxhorn pointed out, to rise against him. They did not easily or light-heartedly turn their backs on the religion of their forefathers, the reader was told, and their motives were usually less pride and the pursuit of fame, than economic gain.²⁹ With this characterization Boxhorn responded to the accusation levelled against his fellow Hollanders by contemporary Spanish authors. As early as the 1570s Spanish authors such as the Chaplain Royal Pedro Cornejo, had labelled the Dutch as rebellious and proud by nature, and this stereotype persisted in later Spanish assessments of the Dutch character.³⁰ Boxhorn clearly found it necessary to challenge this verdict. The distinctly civic presentation of Holland as a country inhabited by sturdy and calculating town-dwellers is also echoed in his description of the flora and fauna.³¹ Here, Boxhorn emphasized the use of the rich and fertile land for agricultural purposes in its various forms. He highlighted the importance of the fishing industry and the role of the international trade that made Holland prosperous, not least through the overseas ventures of the East and West India Companies.

The second part of the book, the chorography of Holland's towns and cities followed this tendency to emphasize *burgher* values and the contribution of townsmen to the greatness and success of the province. For this part, Boxhorn must have relied on the previously

²⁸ For a discussion of the *Germanenmythos* see, for instance, Ludwig Krapf, *Germanenmythos und Reichsideologie. Frühhumanistische Rezeptionsweisen der taciteischen "Germania"*, Tübingen (Niemeyer) 1979.

²⁹ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 36.

³⁰ Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, 'The Pelican and its Ungrateful Children: The Construction and Evolution of the Image of Dutch Rebelliousness', *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, 4–5, 2007, pp. 285–302. See also her *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in Spaanse ogen*, Nijmegen (Vantilt) 2003. It is interesting to note that Spanish authors based their verdict on the same texts that the Dutch used to defend their revolt: Tacitus' *Germania*.

³¹ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 28ff.

available town histories. He certainly did not embark on perambulations in Holland, but composed the book in the comfort of his study in Leiden. Echoes of Pontanus' chorography of Amsterdam, for instance, are clearly detectable in the text. His descriptions are somewhat uneven in terms of their content and topography. Nor did they follow a standardized time frame, but highlight important events across the ages. As in the introduction, the early history of the towns and cities began with the Middle Ages, not in an ancient past. Events in the towns' and cities' pasts were recorded episodically with greater coverage for the more prominent places such as Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam while smaller places such as Oudewater and Monnikendam received less attention. While the events selected for comment differed from one town to another, one key period, the early years of the Dutch Revolt, was covered extensively wherever the town was involved in military action. The reader was thus presented with a narrative of the sieges of Haarlem, Leiden, Oudewater and Naarden. Here, the lively and sometimes jovial tone that had been prevalent in the discussion of the province, its early history, its flora and fauna and the nature of its inhabitants completely disappeared. The recent war was a serious matter which left no room for different interpretations or light-hearted banter. Although sources were occasionally mentioned—Boxhorn referred to Janus Dousa in his account of the siege of Leiden, and to "Chronijken" as his sources for the siege of Haarlem—they were not treated critically in their relevance or otherwise for the events presented.³² These stories were heroic accounts of war and resistance against a seemingly invincible enemy, in which Boxhorn was avowedly partisan to the rebel cause.³³ He also included episodes which at this stage had entered the 'collective memory' of the Revolt. So he recalled the famous response of the besieged Leideners to the Spanish appeal for surrender: "Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps", Dat is: Als den Vogelaer t'voghelken vry siet vliegen, Fluyt hy seer soet, om 't Vogelken te bedriegen" (That is: Sweet are the notes of the flute, when the fowler lures the bird to his nest).³⁴ Boxhorn might have borrowed this popular quote, which derived from the Distichs of

³² Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 198, p. 117.

³³ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 198.

³⁴ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 196.

Cato, from Jan Janszoon Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leiden*.³⁵ It had earlier appeared in Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stadt Haarlem in Holland*, Pieter Bor's *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen* and, later, in P.C. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historiën*.³⁶ Another episode relating to the siege of Leiden that had gained common currency at this stage also found its way into Boxhorn's text. This tells of the reaction of a Zeeuws sailor to the capture of a Spanish contingent: he apparently cut the heart out of the body of a dead Spanish soldier, bit into it and threw it away.³⁷ This gruesome scene had also been mentioned in Orlers' account of the siege.³⁸ Pieter Bor extensively commented on this scene and informed his readers that the heart still showing the traces of the sailor's teeth had been exhibited in Delft, where it was seen by many respectable and trustworthy observers. Bor also presented a song written firstly in Latin and then in Dutch which accounted for the story, thus, again referring his readers not only to other commemorative texts but also to the testimony of contemporaries, who had come to Delft to see what apparently had become a kind of relic of the siege.³⁹ It is in this episode that a connection between what might have become part of a common narrative of the war—episodes which might have been orally transmitted among contemporaries before they were textually documented—are incorporated into an essentially historiographical-topographical text which, though perhaps relatively cheaply available and as such targeting a wider readership, was written by an intellectual elite with a clear commemorative programme in mind. Episodes like these, which Boxhorn and other historians of the Revolt included in their books served as links between myths of the war transmitted through story-telling of

³⁵ The Distichs of Cato, a collection of Latin proverbs and wisdoms were the most popular Latin texts to teach the language in the Middle Ages and during the early modern period. The quote is taken from Cato Distichs 1, 27.

³⁶ Jan Janszoon Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden (van Haestens) 1614, p. 341; Ampzing, *Beschryvinge*, p. 256; Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor, *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche Oorlogen*, Leiden (Govert Basson) and Amsterdam (Michiel Colyn) 1621–1634, vol. 1, p. 506; P.C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historiën, sedert de ooverdraght der heerschappye van Kaizar Karel den vijfden, op koonig Philips zynen zoon*, Amsterdam 1642–1647, repr. Amsterdam (Wetstein & Sceperus) 1703, Book 9, p. 374.

³⁷ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, p. 198.

³⁸ Jan Janszoon Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1614, p. 384. The episode also reappeared in P.C. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historiën*, Book 9, p. 385.

³⁹ Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor, Book 1, vol. 7, pp. 57v–58.

extraordinary events and the public memory created and perpetuated by the Leiden professor and his peers. The comprehensive character of these chorographies contributed significantly to the 'memory market' of the Dutch Republic.⁴⁰ Just as in Pontanus' chorography of Amsterdam published some twenty years earlier, the stories of the uprising still needed to be told to confirm a collective identity among Hollanders in particular and among Dutch men and women in general, who went through a traumatic war which was still not won to gain what they perceived as their freedom. And as in Pontanus' book, it was the early events of the Revolt which stirred the imagination of the readership and which had become part of a collective memory. Boxhorn's coverage remained firmly focused on Holland. Other theatres of war were not mentioned, and were not required in his survey of the province. This strategy, however, reinforced the image that the heart of the Revolt was in Holland for it was there that the atrocity stories originated rather than in the border regions of Brabant, Gelderland and Drenthe, where in reality siege warfare took a much greater toll on the inhabitants and their livelihoods in the long run of the war. Likewise, the focus of events remained on the first phase of the Dutch Revolt during the 1570s and 1580s, in which the Spanish forces could be portrayed as the brutal aggressors while the Dutch were on the defensive. Later events, in which the Dutch armies played a more offensive role and besieged cities in Spanish hands, do not become a part of this version of history. Even in the 1630s there might still have been living eyewitnesses of those epic sieges. These episodes were certainly part of an oral tradition and were told and retold among Holland's citizens and re-enacted in yearly processions and plays.⁴¹ In Boxhorn's *Toneel* they provided a unifying bond among the towns and cities of Holland. This connection was often explicitly made in Boxhorn's descriptions, where he referred to similar events taking place in Haarlem or Naarden or elsewhere in the two provinces.⁴² The great

⁴⁰ I owe this suggestion to Monica Steensland and the participants of the Urban History Seminar at the University of Antwerp, 13 October 2008. On the relationship between personal memory and public memory see Aleida Assmann, 'Transformations between history and memory'.

⁴¹ Hugh Dunthorne, 'Dramatizing the Dutch Revolt: romantic history and its sixteenth-century antecedents', in: Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities*, pp. 11–31; Eddy Verbaan, 'Jan Janszoon Orlers schetst Leiden'.

⁴² Boxhorn, *Toneel*, pp. 116, 196.

exception was Amsterdam, which could not join the chorus of heroic resistance and martyrdom for the cause of the Republic. The war was decidedly edited out of the chorography of Amsterdam.⁴³ Despite this 'black spot' in the history of Amsterdam, the city was lavishly praised, as the patrons of the enterprise would have expected.

Boxhorn's *Toneel* was one among many cartographic projects in the Netherlands. The production of maps with both national and international content boomed until the mid-seventeenth century, when the market for city maps and atlases apparently became saturated.⁴⁴ Boxhorn's publisher Hondius designed the eye-catching maps in quarto oblong format with page-wide engraving, which he tended to use for other atlases produced in his workshop.⁴⁵ The boundaries between chorographies and atlases were blurred. Boxhorn's project also invites comparisons with Johannes Willemsz. Blaeu's atlas of the Low Countries, realized in two parts in 1649 and published under the titles *Novum ac magnum theatrum Belgicae foederatae* and *Novum ac magnum theatrum Belgicae regiae*. This massive cartographic compendium, like Boxhorn's study, was a thoroughly patriotic enterprise. It not only visualized the most important cities and towns in the Low Countries, whose maps were accompanied by a chorographical survey, but also presented the most dramatic sieges in contested areas with detailed descriptions on the accompanying maps. Boxhorn's Latin account of the siege of Breda of 1637 was incorporated in an abridged version in the first volume, which covered the seven United Provinces and the Generality Lands. His contribution was one of the few texts in the books in which the author was personally named.⁴⁶ Interestingly, the earlier siege of Breda in 1625 by General Spinola, which brought the city briefly under the command of the Spanish Netherlands, was presented in the second volume of the enterprise, which covered

⁴³ Boxhorn, *Toneel*, pp. 240–245.

⁴⁴ Wolfgang Behringer, 'Die großen Städtebücher und ihre Voraussetzungen', in: *ibid.*, Bernd Röck (eds.), *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400–1800*, Munich (Beck) 1999, p. 88.

⁴⁵ See W.E. Penning, 'Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode en de plattegrondjes in het *Theatrum* van Boxhorn', *Caert-thresoor* 16, 1997, pp. 85–87.

⁴⁶ The text was accompanied by a beautiful and detailed engraving of the siege by Blaeu. On descriptions of sieges in the Dutch Revolt and their use of maps see most recently Markus Völkel, 'Hugo Grotius' *Grollae obsidio cum annexis von 1629*'. Völkel also mentions Boxhorn's treatment of the siege of Breda.

the Spanish Netherlands. Apparently, Blaeu wanted to market each volume as a success story in the respective part of the Netherlands.

A very similar approach to the presentation of a province can also be detected in a later study by Boxhorn on the history and topography of Zeeland, Holland's southern neighbour. Boxhorn's interest in the history of Zeeland was kindled partly by his close friend Adriaen Hoffer of Zierikzee, and partly by the family of his wife Susanna Duvelaer, daughter of the Mayor of Middelburg. Boxhorn used an older work on the province as the starting point for his chorographical survey of Zeeland. *Dye Chronyck van Zeeland* by the Catholic Johan Reygersbergen, a native of Kortgene on Walcheren had originally been published in Antwerp in 1551. To some extent, this volume had been the first chronicle of Zeeland, which in earlier works had always been overshadowed by its more powerful neighbours. The province, largely comprised of islands and peninsulas tucked between the rivers Maas and Schelde, had acted as a cultural and political intermediary between the North and Flanders, which both claimed part of the territory. In the fourteenth century the Counts of Holland defeated their rivals in Flanders and incorporated the territory into their jurisdiction in 1323. After 1428 both Holland and Zeeland fell under Burgundian and then Habsburg rule. Politics in Zeeland were then dominated by the House of Orange whose members were the most powerful players in the province both in governmental institutions and in military matters. Although Zeeland's mercantile elite profited from the trade of the Dutch East India Company, other markets suffered as a consequence of the Peace of Westphalia, which disrupted the trading routes across the Schelde to the commercial centres in Flanders and Brabant. Zeeland's overall economy witnessed a long period of decline from which it never fully recovered.

Boxhorn reedited and updated Reygerbergen's original text and commented extensively on the older author's interpretations of Zeeland's past. His book was published by Zacharias and Michiel Roman in Middelburg and printed by Boxhorn's printer Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe in Leiden in 1644. Boxhorn's book was divided into two parts. Part one was a chorographical description of the province with details of its topography, its main towns and regions, an etymological outline of the origins of their names, and the nature of their inhabitants. The second part was a straight narrative of the Counts of Zeeland until 1581, when Philip II lost his sovereignty over the province. For Zeeland's more recent history Boxhorn referred the reader

to his forthcoming volume, which would pick up the story from the Act of Abjuration to his own time.⁴⁷ Boxhorn dedicated his work to the regents of Zeeland, who were generously praised for their activities not only on behalf of the province, but also in terms of their overseas enterprises and as peace-makers in the current European wars.⁴⁸ The book did not include any maps or views of rural or urban spaces; neither did it have an image on the frontispiece.⁴⁹ Only in the second part, the narrative of the Counts of Zeeland, were full-length portraits of the respective rulers incorporated preceding each biographical vignette—a practice which Boxhorn adopted from Reygersbergen's original.

Boxhorn's approach to his topic was similar to the one presented in his introduction to the *Toneel*. He emphasized his own archival research in Zeeland, and thanked Zeeland's pensionaries, and the provincial administrators who gave him access to otherwise unavailable material. He used Scaliger's concept of linguistic families for the analysis of the etymological origins of the name "Zeeland", which was, again, based on Danish and Norman and not Roman names, and he referred to similar funeral rites in Denmark and Zeeland as a sign of the Danish influences on the province.⁵⁰ He even used the same analogy of naming—Batavia on Java—that had been found in the *Toneel*. Here he referred appreciatively to Melis Stoke's *Rijmkroniek*, but dismissed Willem Heda's speculations on the Greek origin of the name Zeeland.⁵¹

Boxhorn could not claim any noble origins for the establishment of Zeeland. The many small islands, he argued, were originally ruled by individual lords with little power outside their territories. He ridiculed Reygersbergen's version, in which Zeeland's origins were linked to the legendary founding fathers Walachrius (for Walcheren) and Zalandius (for Zeeland in general).⁵² These references in Reygersbergen's text to noble origins might be understandable, Boxhorn commented, but had no historical foundation. Neither great heroes nor even heroic peoples such as the Batavians played a part in the foundation of the province. Instead, Boxhorn used the contemporary phrase "Zeelanders" and left

⁴⁷ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Chroniick van Zeelandt*, Middelburg (Zacharias Roman) 1644, p. 604.

⁴⁸ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, dedication.

⁴⁹ I have used the copy preserved in the British Library, London for this study.

⁵⁰ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 1, pp. 62–64.

⁵¹ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 1, p. 61.

⁵² Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 1, pp. 19–20; part 2, pp. 4–5.

Reygersbergen's description of a peace-loving, industrious, but quite simple folk in place.⁵³ Key events for Zeeland's history were linked to Charlemagne. His greatest achievement from a Zeeuws perspective was the crusade against the Danes and Goths, who had oppressed Zeeland's population since the early Middle Ages. With the "first German Emperor", as he was called, "civiltet and politien"—civilization and political order—came to the province.⁵⁴ Charlemagne's key role as the initiator of the christianization of Northern Europe, and also as the motor for a revival of civilized society emerging from the chaotic centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire was a common topic in the Protestant historiography of later Humanism. We have earlier seen how Ampzing constructed Charlemagne's missionizing initiatives as a purely northern affair, developing independently from Roman authority and guidance.⁵⁵ Charlemagne's inclusion in the chorography of Zeeland thus repeated the theme of a non-Roman master narrative for the Dutch Republic and added a confessional dimension to it.

However, Zeeland always remained a weak and remote 'junior partner' in Charlemagne's political plans, a side show with little relevance for imperial policy. This was reflected in Boxhorn's book. The Burgundian period was covered extensively in a special appendix. Here, Zeeland eventually entered high politics as an active player rather than the passive victim of raids and invasions. The province's involvement in international politics particularly in England, Scotland and Scandinavia through its overlords, the Dukes of Burgundy, was highlighted. Boxhorn thus echoed Pontanus interpretation of the Burgundian rule in Holland, which had facilitated Amsterdam's rise to greatness. Generally, Zeeland's history remained intertwined with the history of its northern neighbour Holland. While occasional references were

⁵³ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 1, p. 21.

⁵⁴ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 2, p. 3.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Thomas Fuchs, *Traditionsbruch und Erinnerungspolitik. Geschichtsschreibung in Hessen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Kassel (Verein für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde) 2002. See also Harald Bollbuck, *Geschichts- und Raummodelle bei Albert Krantz (um 1448–1517) und David Chytraeus (1530–1600)*, Frankfurt (Peter Lang) 2006. Alternative models, however, in which Charlemagne was a collaborator of an already corrupted Catholic Church were also discussed in Protestant historiography. Interpretations centred on the purported date of the beginning of the decay of the Catholic Church, which was either connected with Pope Gregory I around the turn of the sixth to the seventh century or with later developments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See Harald Bollbuck, *Geschichts- und Raummodelle*, p. 235ff.

also made to the southern neighbour and rival Flanders, other members of the seventeen provinces were rarely mentioned for this period. There were some references to Gelderland and its opposition to Emperor Maximilian and Philip of Burgundy. In this case, the sympathies of the author were undoubtedly on the side of the Burgundians, who were supported by Zeeland's finest youth during their campaign against the unruly Duke Karel van Egmond.⁵⁶ Zeeland had indeed profited from the Burgundian rule, which saw the rise of cities such as Middelburg, a centre of the herring industry and trading extensively with England and Scotland, as did the smaller towns of Veere, Goes and Flushing.

While throughout most of the medieval period Zeeland was overshadowed by the mightier neighbour Holland, the province came into its own in the Dutch Revolt, which was covered extensively by Boxhorn both in the description of towns and regions and in the second, narrative part. In his version it was this period which clearly formed a distinct Zeeland identity and which gave reason for regional pride. In Boxhorn's edition 'Dutch liberty' overshadowed Reygersbergen's main theme: the draining of the land and the province's heroic struggle against the sea. Although land reclamation and dike building still played some part in the story, the emphasis had now shifted towards the fight against the Spanish. While the princes of Orange remained the heroes of his story, Boxhorn focused, not surprisingly, on the urban theatre of war, where the citizens of Zeeland's towns became active participants in the struggle against Habsburg's tyranny, caused in this interpretation by Philip's religious fanaticism. "Dere verbonden Nederlanden vryheid" (the liberty of the United Netherlands) motivated the citizens of towns such as Middelburg to shake off the "onverdraechlijke jock van de Spaansche tyrannie" (the unbearable yoke of Spanish tyranny)—a story which was told in great detail.⁵⁷ Boxhorn thus, again, fed into one of the most prominent features of the public memory of the Eighty Years' War in the North: the important role of the cities and their *burghers* in the Dutch Revolt. Civic unrest had been particularly strong in Zeeland with its strategic strongholds Flushing, Middelburg and Veere and their involvement in the uprising was narrated

⁵⁶ Boxhorn, *Chroniick, Korte Summatie*, pp. 366, 389.

⁵⁷ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 1, p. 150.

in great detail.⁵⁸ During his account of the Revolt, Boxhorn repeatedly mentioned “der verbonden Nederlanden” (the united Netherlands), but special emphasis was again placed on the union between Zeeland and Holland.⁵⁹ His narrative of events remained strictly focused on Zeeland. Thus, the reader was not presented with the master narrative of the Dutch Revolt with its key elements such as the heroic sieges of Naarden, Leiden or Haarlem, but was referred to the works of Pieter Bor for an account of the wider picture. Boxhorn’s war was very much a war in the west. Campaigns elsewhere were not mentioned. Neither was the story of the war updated to Boxhorn’s own time. As in the narrative of the Counts of Zeeland, his chorographies ended in 1581. Boxhorn finished his book by invoking the unity of the Dutch Republic and calling for God’s grace and protection for the Union, which had risen from humble origins to the blessed and prosperous state of his time. Boxhorn carefully tip toed around the subject of relations between the United Provinces and the Holy Roman Empire. Even after the Peace of Westphalia the constitutional nature of the links between the *Reich* and the United Provinces was somewhat unclear. Boxhorn himself was well aware of the judicial debates about the Emperor’s alleged sovereignty over the Netherlands and contributed to discussions of protocol and nomenclature that had arisen during the international conferences at the end of the Thirty Years’ War with his treatises *Disquisitiones politicae*.⁶⁰ By avoiding references to its eastern neighbour, Boxhorn not only remained in line with his account of Zeeland’s earlier history, but avoided the complicated question of legal (if not factual) sovereignty of the United Provinces.

Boxhorn’s praise for the princes of Orange as Zeeland’s Protestant champions in the preface and conclusion of his book was complemented by his dismissal of Spanish policy as being guided by religious fanaticism.⁶¹ In Boxhorn’s topographical survey religious houses, monasteries and churches in Zeeland were described in great detail, but these were admired for their architecture and art rather than their religious function. Middelburg Abbey, an impressive and influential

⁵⁸ Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, part 2, p. 557f.

⁵⁹ Boxhorn, *Chroniick, Dedicatie*, n.p., part 2, p. 561.

⁶⁰ Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Disquisitiones politicae*, The Hague, 1655. For the political relations between the Dutch Republic and the Holy Roman Empire see Johannes Arndt, *Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Niederlande 1566 bis 1648*, esp. pp. 85ff and Helmut Gabel, Volker Jarren, *Kaufleute und Fürsten*, pp. 447ff.

⁶¹ Boxhorn, *Chroniick, Dedicatie*, n.p., p. 604.

Premonstratensian monastery merited attention because the abbot was a key power broker in the region, which raised the political profile of the town and surrounding Walcheren. On a more critical note, Boxhorn described the expulsion from the abbey of the Canons Regular, who were obliged to leave due to alleged misbehaviour.⁶² The strong Protestant message in Boxhorn's account also reflected the confessional realities in the region. Zeeland had by far the lowest percentage of resident Catholics in the Dutch Republic in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶³ The triumphant tone that Boxhorn applied, therefore, would probably not have met with much opposition in the province. His anti-Catholic attitude was displayed in a critique of earlier histories written by monks, which he dismissed as fabrications or simply as lacking the rigorous research methods of his own time.⁶⁴ However, although medieval scholarship was criticized as being riddled with "onachtsaemhey" —inaccuracy—, contemporary Catholic historians such as Aubert le Mire (alias Miraeus) and Jean Baptiste Gramaye were often cited side by side with Protestant authors.⁶⁵ Here, clearly, neither partition nor the different historiographical conventions that had emerged in the North and in the South excluded the dialogue between historians on either side, who cited, discussed and criticized each other as members of an intellectual elite that tried to make sense of the new political realities of the time through a reinterpretation of the past.

GELDERLAND: KNIGHTS IN THE SHADOW OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Boxhorn's chorographies of Holland and Zeeland were not isolated expressions of regional interest in historical-topographical descriptions. The interpretation chosen for other provinces of the Netherlands, however, did not always concur with his vision of the Dutch Republic and its regional histories. The following pages will discuss chorographies of two provinces which were outside the North Sea core of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, and which experienced the Dutch Revolt and its aftermath in a very different way: Gelderland, Drenthe and Overijssel.

⁶² Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, pp. 152–156.

⁶³ For more details see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 389, 642.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, *Dedicatie*, n.p.

⁶⁵ See, for instance, Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, p. 27.

Gelderland, the only Duchy in the Dutch Republic, had a chequered history. Being a late acquisition of the Burgundians it never fitted easily into the politics of its overlords. This relatively large territory on the eastern borders of what would become the Dutch Republic fell under Burgundian hegemony in 1473, but soon afterwards rose in revolt against Emperor Maximilian's plans to centralize authority and adjust Gelderland's political character according to Burgundian practice. Large-scale anti-Habsburg rebellions in 1491 and 1504 pushed Maximilian and his son Philip out of the Duchy. Political alliances, however, were divided in the country with the higher nobility supporting the Habsburgs and the lesser gentry and the towns taking the side of the Duke of Gelderland. In the first decades of the sixteenth century Duke Karel van Egmond led an expansionist policy, waging war against Holland and invading neighbouring Drenthe, Overijssel and Utrecht. However, he over-reached his political and military power and had to give up all territorial acquisitions in 1528. After his death in 1538 Gelderland became part of Jülich-Cleves-Berg under Duke William, who was chosen by Gelderland's estates to become the ruler of the province. Relations between William and Charles V, however, rapidly deteriorated. When William entered the Schmalkaldic League, tensions culminated in a brief war: William lost Gelderland to Charles V, who reintegrated the Duchy into the Spanish Habsburg's territory in 1543 and claimed the ducal title for himself. Gelderland was then centrally governed from the Habsburg-dominated *Hof* in Arnhem, while the smaller territorial lords in the country maintained their traditionally close links with the Holy Roman Empire. As early as 1572 Gelderland became involved in the Eighty Years' War. William of Orange entered the Low Countries via Germany and marched across the province. In the chaos of war, his troops occupied Erkelenz, Wachtendonk and Straelen. In the face of plundering and looting initial support for Orange collapsed. The following months were very confused. Local nobles such as Count Willem van den Bergh sided with the uprising and looted churches and monasteries in the borderland between Gelderland and Cleves. Spanish troops terminated this brief episode with the siege and ensuing plunder of Zutphen, where hundreds of inhabitants were murdered by the troops of the Duke of Alba. Generally, the Four Quarters, the administrative units of the Duchy pursued independent policies vis-à-vis the fighting forces and only joined the rebel side in the Union of Utrecht in 1579. Conflicting lines of allegiance separated the towns and the gentry, who supported

the Revolt and the higher nobility, who remained largely loyal to the Spanish and welcomed Spanish invasions from neighbouring German territories. Gelderland remained a main theatre of war during the whole length of the conflict. In the peace treaties of 1648 the south-eastern part of the territory, the so-called *Overkwartier*, with Roermond as its centre, was officially integrated into the Spanish Netherlands, while the rest of Gelderland remained a part of the Dutch Republic. Gelderland suffered economically in the war. Although protocol dictated that the province should take precedence within the United Provinces due to its status as a Duchy, the province's real influence on Dutch politics was limited. The consequent feeling of loss might have persuaded the states of Gelderland to invest in a prestigious project of a chorography to keep alive memory of the province's (former) greatness.⁶⁶

In the middle of the war, in 1597, the provincial assembly and the *Hof* of Gelre decided to commission a history of the Duchy. Paullus Merula of Leiden University was approached for the task. The Gelderland-ers had set their sights high: Merula was the successor of Justus Lipsius to the Chair in History at the university.⁶⁷ The project has been carefully documented and reconstructed by Ute Heinen-von Borries elsewhere, but is worth recording here, because it gives an excellent insight into the importance, the estates ascribed to the enterprise and into the difficulties that the researchers encountered.⁶⁸ The progress of the work, whose author was expected to do research in the various archives of Gelderland scattered around the three remaining quarters, was hampered by a series of difficulties and disasters for the next forty years. The minutes of the estates concerning the book show the interest that both the estates and the chancellor of the *Hof* and the large cities had in the publication of a chorography of the Duchy. The towns in Gelderland were requested by the estates to open their archives for Merula's study. Merula himself received 200 guilders for the first two years of his research. He, however, had no intentions of travelling to war-torn Gelderland, and wanted the documents to be copied

⁶⁶ This and the following information are taken from Ute Heinen-von Borries, 'Het Gelderlandsgevoel in historieliedern en geschiedschrijving, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw', in: Meindert Evers et al. (eds.), *Het Hertogdom Gelre*, Utrecht (Matrijs) 2003, pp. 482–493.

⁶⁷ Merula is perhaps better known as a linguist, classicist and editor of classical works.

⁶⁸ Ute Heinen-von Borries, 'Het Gelderlandsgevoel in historieliedern en geschiedschrijving', pp. 482–493.

for his use. However, the estates balked at the sum requested for copyists and safe delivery, and Merula eventually had to undertake the necessary travels himself, for which a passport was issued. The larger cities in the province were happy to provide copies of the documents he needed, but the response from the smaller towns, whose magistrates simply could not afford copies to be made in those difficult times, was disappointing. Merula also requested copies of documents from neighbouring territories such as Utrecht and Overijssel, whose politics had been entangled with Gelderland's history. Again, money for these copies was provided by the *Hof* in Gelderland. Relations with neighbouring Jülich-Cleves-Berg were more complicated and the idea of gathering support from the court in Düsseldorf was eventually abandoned. For the history of the lost *Overkwartier*, private negotiations with their representative at the Habsburg court in Brussels were undertaken. Merula also received support from Arnoldus Buchelius, who at this stage was trying to extend his network of academic friends and offered works from his substantial private library to the Leiden professor.⁶⁹ In view of the difficulties in receiving information from the smaller towns in the Duchy, Merula started and completed the second, narrative, part of his book, presenting the *Hof* with a manuscript on the history of Gelderland in 1605. He suggested that this part should go to the printers separately while he was still waiting for material for part 1, the topographical survey. The manuscript met with approval. The printer received an order for fifty or sixty copies by the estates, it was expected that the remainder of the print run should be published at his own risk. Shortly afterwards, however, Merula became seriously ill, and in October 1607 he died. A commission consisting of the *ambtman* of Nijmegen, Cornelis van Gent, the *ambtman* of Bommel, Tiel and Bommelerwaard, Joost van Gijsen and the deputy *griffier* from the *Hof*, Engelbert Engelen, was now sent to Leiden to collect the material that had been delivered to Merula's desk and the papers that he himself had acquired on his travels. It was feared that in the wrong hands, copies of documents relating to urban and regional governments could cause serious controversy over claims and rights

⁶⁹ Buchelius later complained to his friend Scriverius that he had lost his copy of Willem Hermansz's *Olandie Gelrieque Bellum* (Amsterdam 1517) to Merula. After Merula's death it came into the possession of his successor Joannes Luntius, who never returned it to its owner. For this and the correspondence between Buchelius and Merula see Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, pp. 176, 179.

among the authorities in Gelderland. Difficulties arose, however, with Merula's widow, who requested and eventually received an honorarium for the delivery of the documents. Further complications arose over the question of the ownership of some of the documents relating to matters of Holland, Utrecht and Overijssel. As official historian of the States of Holland, it was assumed that Merula's legacy should legally be returned to his patrons.⁷⁰ In 1610 Joannes Luntius succeeded Merula in Leiden and continued Merula's study on Gelderland. He took advantage of the Twelve Years' Truce and spent six weeks in archives in 's-Hertogenbosch. He became however entangled in legal controversies, which were discussed in the light of the peace process with regard to towns and areas taken over by Jülich-Cleves-Berg. These possessions were now reclaimed by the Gelderland estates, who were looking for archival documents that would establish the position of these places in Gelderland. These issues might have been important for diplomacy and politics, but they further impeded the progress of the *Historiae Gelricae*. When Luntius died in 1620, his widow received a pension for his diplomatic efforts, but she could not produce the promised manuscript on Gelderland's history as the estates requested. The task was again transferred to another historian, this time to Johannes Isacius Pontanus in Harderwijk. Although like his predecessors not a native Geldersman, he was at least a resident in the province, which made negotiations easier and cheaper. Also like his predecessors, Pontanus received a bundle of documents already collected and copied for the enterprise. The state made available 956 guilders to acquire chronicles and histories from Brabant, Cleves, Flanders, Utrecht and Jülich. It was also recommended that Pontanus should have access to the archives of the regional aristocratic families. In 1634 the estates decided to print Pontanus' manuscript, which now covered the history of Gelderland until 1438, the death of the last independent Duke of Gelderland. A commission was established whose members should check the manuscript before publication. It was then decided that the work should be extended to cover the period up to 1581, the year of

⁷⁰ Parts of his manuscript under the title *Rerum ab Gelris eorumque progenitoribus domi militariae gestarum liber I–V* are now preserved in the Bibliotheek Arnhem. See Harry Ch. van Bommel, *Catalogus van de handschriften aanwezig in de Bibliotheek Arnhem*, Hilversum (Verloren) 1999, p. 42. For the development of the idea of the value of archives as a patrimony to future generations see Eric Ketelaar, 'Archieven, munimenta et monumenta', in: Frans Grijzenhout (ed.), *Erfgoed. De Geschiedenis van een begrip*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Press) 2007, pp. 85–107.

the Act of Abjuration. The completed work would eventually be published by Pontanus' printer Joannes Janssonius in Amsterdam. Nicolaas van Geelkercken was commissioned to produce maps for the four *Quartiers* and the four main cities Nijmegen, Zutphen, Arnhem and Roermond. Though the project had greatly outgrown its initial remit, it had, apparently, remained close to the hearts of Gelderland's leading elite. They commissioned three hundred copies from Janssonius' workshop and promised not to give permission for prints of the books elsewhere. Pontanus was again given a generous honorarium of 1000 guilders. The *Historiae Gelricae* was finally completed and printed in 1639, a few months before Pontanus' death.⁷¹ During his studies Pontanus had contacted Nijmegen's historian Johannes Smetius, who had been a student with Pontanus in Harderwijk. As already pointed out in Chapter III of the present study, the two men kept a life-long correspondence which focused on their mutual interest in Gelderland and in Nijmegen in particular.⁷² Pontanus had also been in frequent epistolary exchange with his old friend and fellow student Petrus Scriverius and with Arnoldus Buchelius, both of whom wrote dedicatory poems for the *Historiae*.⁷³ Scriverius' library was highlighted in the address to the reader as a source of valuable documents.⁷⁴ Buchelius received a copy of the voluminous work as a present and as a reward for his support during Pontanus' years of research. Even after the publication he was looking for improvements and additions for a second edition, but death intervened.⁷⁵ Pontanus' book might have been scholarly, but its dense Latin rendered it indigestible for the general market. It was beautifully, if somewhat sparsely illustrated with 'bird's-eye' views of the main cities in the *Quartiers*, a few maps of Gelderland, and with some portraits of the Dukes of Gelderland and other leading members of the nobility. The most striking engraving was actually of Pontanus

⁷¹ Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Historiae Gelricae Libri XIV etc.*, Amsterdam (Janssonius) 1639.

⁷² Their correspondence is kept in the library of Leiden University, BPL 1886.

⁷³ Other dedicatory poems by Anna Maria Schurman, Adrianus Hoffer, Caspar van Baerle, Anthonius Mattheus J.U.D. from the University of Utrecht, Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, Johan Witten from Harderwijk and Rochus Hoffer, son of Adrianus, were also included.

⁷⁴ Pontanus, *Historiae*, *Commonitio ad lectorem*, p. 2.

⁷⁵ For the epistolary exchange between Pontanus, Scriverius and Buchelius on the *Historiae* see Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, pp. 178–180.

himself, done by J. van de Velde, and presented at the beginning of the book.

Even before Pontanus' massive volume came out in print, the estates considered a Dutch translation for a wider readership. In 1642 Arend van Slichtenhorst, a former student of Pontanus, was commissioned with the task. Van Slichtenhorst was born into a family of lawyers in Nijkerk in Gelderland in 1616. In 1630 he attended the *Gymnasium Illustre* in Harderwijk, where he studied with Pontanus. Van Slichtenhorst was then sent to Leiden University to study Law. He also attended lectures by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, who was first his teacher and then became a life-long friend.⁷⁶ He eventually completed his studies with a doctorate in Law from Franeker. As early as 1642 van Slichtenhorst, who had followed in his father's footsteps and was then working as a clerk for the States of Gelderland, began a translation of Pontanus' compendium. He enthusiastically embarked on the enterprise and, by 1644, had produced the requested Dutch translation of the Latin text. This, however, did not satisfy his own ambitions as historian; van Slichtenhorst then started work on a series of amendments, additions and corrections to the original book, which eventually expanded the text to double its original size. He went on a three-year tour of the country to improve the chorographical part of the book, which was still missing in Pontanus' text. His version of Gelderland's history, however, did not meet with the approval of Gelderland's estates when he presented his work to his patrons in October 1652. The official rejection of the manuscript referred to the fact that he had overstepped his remit and that all that had been required was a simple translation of Pontanus' study. The real reasons behind the estates' discontent, however, were twofold. In the first place they disliked the criticism levelled at some members of the nobility, and secondly, they recalled the role that van Slichtenhorst and his father had played in court cases against members of the nobility some of whose relatives were now sitting in the estates. Van Slichtenhorst's style might also not have been entirely to their tastes, for he often used phrases taken from his regional dialect, adopted a sometimes rather jovial tone, and was on occasion given to rude stereotypes. The rejection shattered van Slichtenhorst's hopes for a promotion to *leengreffier* at the *Hof*. He

⁷⁶ See his reference to Boxhorn as "myn ouden leeraer en hoofdvriend" (my old teacher and main friend), van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Boek 1, p. II.

died three years later, in 1657 in Nijkerk, probably a victim of the plague epidemic then ravaging Gelderland. Fortunately for the book and also for the publisher, Jan van Biesen printed the work without the official approval of the estates and at his own expense. That he was willing to take the financial and political risk of having no secure market, and of possibly becoming the target of the anger of some powerful men demonstrates that chorographies were not merely the product of a political elite which wanted to see its power manifested in a certain interpretation of the past, but that there was also a wider interest in these books. Speculating on this interest, van Biesen embarked on his somewhat risky enterprise. His calculations proved correct: the first print run sold out immediately, and a second print run was started in 1654, the same year of its first publication.

Both Pontanus' book and van Slichtenhorst's revised edition had a strong political agenda, very different from the works on Holland and Zeeland by their mutual friend Marcus Boxhorn. Most striking at first sight is the role of the nobility in the dedicatory texts and also in both the historical and, in van Slichtenhorst's case, the chorographical parts of the book. Pontanus extensively praised the support that he had received from the various city administrators and landed gentlemen who had opened their archives for his research.⁷⁷ Unlike in Holland and Zeeland, the nobility was still very much a force to be reckoned with in seventeenth-century Gelderland and the studies paid tribute to their role in the history and contemporary politics of the province.

The second striking difference in these studies is the clear orientation of Gelderland towards the east. The links between Gelderland and the Holy Roman Empire had always been an essential part of Gelderland's identity, a fact which was clearly reflected in medieval and early modern regional and urban histories, as we have already seen in connection with Smetius' *Nijmegen*.⁷⁸

The other great theme that had preoccupied Gelderland's historians since the late Middle Ages was, as has already been pointed out, the search for the origins of ancient Batavia and its inhabitants, and here

⁷⁷ Pontanus, *Historiae, Commonitio ad lectorem*.

⁷⁸ For Gelderland's late medieval historiography see Aart Noordzij, 'Geschiedschrijving en nationale Identiteit. Gelre in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen. Historisch Jaarboek voor Gelderland* XCV, 2004, pp. 6–48. See also his *Gelre. Dynastie, land en identiteit in de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum (Verloren) 2009.

protagonists for a Gelderland homeland fought polemic battles against defenders of Holland as the home of the Batavians. Not surprisingly, this issue was closer to the heart of the Gelderlanders than the Hollanders. Gelderlanders would at least be able to compensate for their loss of power and prosperity by claiming to be the cradle of Dutch liberty.

The following discussion will take van Slichtenhorst's work as a starting point: it was written in Dutch, it sold well, and it provided the definitive chorography of the Duchy. Where the text differed from Pontanus' original, other than in the topographical section, which Pontanus did not complete, references will be made to the Latin text of the older work. Where not otherwise stated, van Slichtenhorst followed Pontanus' argumentation.

Gelderland's relations to the Holy Roman Empire and the origins of the Batavians within the province were addressed extensively in van Slichtenhorst's book and formed the backbone of his description of the Duchy. Both issues featured prominently in the creation of a distinct Gelderland identity, which was clearly constructed in contrast to, and in competition with, Holland. The competition between both provinces was certainly not a new theme in the historiography of the Low Countries, but in the light of the new political entity that had emerged from the uprising, and which formed the umbrella under which both provinces now had to operate, old divisions had to be presented in a new, less controversial light.

Van Slichtenhorst also used the structure of his text to interpret Gelderland's history. For him, the 'Imperial' perspective on Gelderland's past was more important than the debate on the Batavian origins. Characteristically, his survey, which, despite its rejection, was still officially dedicated to the States of Gelderland, began with a tribute to the province's status as the most noble member of the United Provinces and as its oldest earldom. Moreover, he broadly outlined Gelderland's elevation to the status of a Duchy, the only one in the Dutch Republic, which had received its title from Emperor Louis in 1339.⁷⁹ The power and prestige of Gelderland, particularly in the fourteenth century, was further emphasized by a reference to the first Duke's wife,

⁷⁹ Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem (van Biesen) 1654, p. 2. Here, van Slichtenhorst proudly pointed out that this elevation of Gelderland to a duchy preceded the elevation of neighbouring Jülich by 18 years.

Eleonore, daughter of the English king Edward III, to demonstrate the international standing of the ruling house. Clearly, good and powerful relations with the Holy Roman Empire in the medieval, pre-Burgundian past seemed more important for van Slichtenhorst's view of his home province than the reference to earlier, Roman times and the Batavians, who only entered the story four pages later. Here, Tacitus was cited as the authoritative source for Gelderland's Batavian history and particularly for the city of Nijmegen, which was identified as the ancient stronghold of the Batavians. For van Slichtenhorst, as for his friend Boxhorn, the Batavian debate had moved on since the publication of Pontanus' version of Gelderland's history and topography had been published in 1639. With reference to earlier historiographical controversies, van Slichtenhorst ridiculed claims by historians such as Cornelius Aurelius, who had identified his native Holland as the homeland of the Batavians.⁸⁰ Even Aurelius' contemporary adversary Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen, who had positioned the Batavians in Gelderland, did not escape van Slichtenhorst's criticism. Geldenhouwer's version of a Batavian origin myth dating back to a legendary founding father, Bato, was equally dismissed as an old wives' tale.⁸¹ In contrast, van Slichtenhorst offered his own interpretation of the Batavian origin, based not only on references to classical authors, but also on archaeological evidence and etymological deductions, and aimed at the deconstruction of the Bato legend as a folk tale without basis in history. The whole episode showed a clear departure in van Slichtenhorst's text from his Latin original. Pontanus began his book with a fairly standard survey of the land itself; he outlined Gelderland's borders, then moved on to its flora and fauna, and its political organization, and continued with an extended discourse on its first inhabitants. These aspects were also covered in van Slichtenhorst, but, notably, only after he had praised the prominent and ancient status of the Duchy. Gelderland's position as the most senior province in the Dutch Republic was not highlighted in Pontanus' version, neither did he emphasize old and close relations with the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, he revisited in great detail the earlier debates on the origins of the Batavians in Gelderland.⁸² Both Pontanus and van Slichtenhorst still felt strongly

⁸⁰ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, pp. 7–8.

⁸¹ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 8.

⁸² van Slichtenhorst explicitly mentioned Pontanus' omissions, for instance on pp. 561–562, where he included a transcript of Charles V's confirmation of Nijmegen's

about the relevance of Gelderland as the cradle of the Dutch nation, or at least, they considered this aspect to be an important argument in the chorography of the province. They argued their case, however, on a very different level. While Pontanus was still entangled in the learned discourse on Tacitus, Caesar and the late medieval protagonists of one version of the Batavian myth or another, van Slichtenhorst was able to 'play' with the motif and to ridicule earlier scholarship, while keeping the main role of the Batavians as markers of Dutch, and, for him and his readers more specifically, Gelderland's, history and identity intact. A discussion of Batavian origins was, obviously, still expected from a chorography of Gelderland; it was part of the matrix of stories and memories, reinforced by reiteration, that provided a landmark for war-torn Gelderland and offered them a place of prominence in turbulent times. As a learned discourse, however, the Batavian myth had lost its argumentative edge.

However, van Slichtenhorst directed even more biting criticism against the Catholic histories of Gelderland and their use of pious legends such as the origin myth of the town of Gelre, which was associated with a dragon slain by the bishop of Paderborn or, in an alternative narrative, by Wichard and Lupold, two local nobles. These stories were, according to van Slichtenhorst, clearly fabrications of the former Catholic establishment.⁸³ In an attempt to apply etymological deductions to the explanation of the province's name, van Slichtenhorst again firmly embedded the Duchy in an Imperial context suggesting that the term 'Gelderner'—Gelderlanders—derived from the word "Kelten"—Celts, which was used in the Roman past to describe Germanic tribes.⁸⁴

Of Gelderland's towns and cities, which were described in great detail, Nijmegen, not surprisingly, stood out.⁸⁵ Here, van Slichtenhorst followed the description by Pontanus, who in turn referred

rights as a Free Imperial City in 1549 and the renewal of this confirmation by Philip II.

⁸³ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 21. Pontanus also mentioned the fable of a legendary dragon, but he was much more guarded in his criticism of the alleged Catholic authors of these stories. He digressed, instead, by offering classical examples by Titus Livius before again moving on to Gerhard Geldenhower. He did not mention the Jesuit historian Christoph Brouwer and the canon of Cologne Cathedral Gillis van Gelleen, who were the targets of van Slichtenhorst's criticism. See Pontanus, *Historiae*, p. 27.

⁸⁴ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 22.

⁸⁵ Pontanus, *Historiae*, p. 49.

to Paullus Merula's work on the subject. Both authors emphasized Nijmegen's role as a Roman garrison town and underlined their arguments with references to archaeological remains and inscriptions.⁸⁶ In their version of history, Nijmegen was also the ancient home of the Batavians, who were mentioned here, but, more importantly for van Slichtenhorst, the city's history was firmly embedded in the history of the Holy Roman Empire and its first and most prominent representative, Charlemagne. Not only did van Slichtenhorst claim Nijmegen as the place of Charlemagne's coronation as king of the Franks, he also emphasized its status as a Free Imperial City in the Empire and its role as one of the main residence of the Frankish kings and Holy Roman Emperors, who adorned the city with a number of eminent buildings such as the *Valkhof*. Like Smetius senior in his *Oppidum Batavorum*, van Slichtenhorst underlined Nijmegen's position within the Holy Roman Empire through a discussion of artefacts and coins, as well as of inscriptions and buildings. Like Smetius, he particularly mentioned the life-size portrait of Charlemagne in full imperial regalia in Nijmegen's Town Hall where the imperial black double-headed eagle adorned the exterior of the building. In van Slichtenhorst's survey Charlemagne appeared not simply as an alternative founder of the city or as the christianizer of the country, but first and foremost as a guarantor of the German roots of Gelderland and of Nijmegen's role as a Free Imperial City. In his survey of eminent places within Nijmegen, churches, schools and government buildings were mentioned. In Nijmegen's main church, the St. Stevens Kerk, it was, again, the grave of Catharina of Bourbon, wife of Duke Adolf van Egmond (1439–1477) which van Slichtenhorst singled out. Here again, the detailed description of the tomb, including the seventeen coats of arms of her ancestors, served as a reminder of Gelderland's high international status in pre-Burgundian times.⁸⁷ Likewise, references were made to international, high-profile benefactors such as Albert the Great, who, as Bishop of Regensburg, had consecrated St. Steven's Church. Gelderland's noble houses of Nassau, Jülich and Egmond were praised, while the Burgundian rulers and their Habsburg successors were dismissed

⁸⁶ Although he did not specifically mention him, it is more than likely that Pontanus received this information from his former student Johannes Smetius. Smetius was mentioned as his informer where Pontanus discussed Nijmegen's main church, the St. Steven's Kerk. See Pontanus, *Historiae*, p. 57.

⁸⁷ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 36.

as the “nydighen Burgondier en gulsighe Oostenrijkers” (the envious Burgundians and greedy Austrians) who were eventually driven out of the country.⁸⁸ The ‘Imperial’ theme was continued in the second part of the book, which provided a straight narrative of the history of Gelderland. Here, chapters were clearly divided according to the regnal years of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings and Holy Roman Emperors. Charles V is thus succeeded by Ferdinand I and not, as might have been expected by Philip II, who was, after all, Duke of Gelderland until the Act of Abjuration in 1581. Consequently, the narrative covered much of the history of the Holy Roman Empire such as Charlemagne’s wars against the Saxons, the Normans and the Moors in Spain.⁸⁹ Here, however, both Pontanus and his translator van Slichtenhorst managed to frequently return to Nijmegen as one of the main cities of Charlemagne’s empire, a place where he spent time and met dignitaries from all over the known world.

This strategy of counting in Imperial regnal years was not new. Van Slichtenhorst simply adopted the chronology of Pontanus, who also counted the lineage of Holy Roman Emperors rather than the Spanish Habsburg line of Philip II.

The Dutch Revolt featured prominently in this story. Not surprisingly, perhaps, it received a distinct Gelderland ‘spin’, with particular emphasis on the eastern theatre such as the War of Cologne (1583–1588). Here again, the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries’ relations with their mighty eastern neighbour remained a prominent force in the story, where van Slichtenhorst discussed the possibilities of an alliance with the German princes, but dismissed this option on the grounds of the family relations between the Emperor and Philip II.⁹⁰ Van Slichtenhorst’s war was very much a war of the nobility, where the leading actors were the members of the most powerful aristocratic houses in the Northern Netherlands such as Willem, Count van den Bergh, who joined the Revolt early in 1572 and his contemporary Charles de Brimeau, *stadholder* of Gelderland, who planned a coup against the Duke of Alva, but died before “dit woedend biest” (this raging beast), as van Slichtenhorst described Alva, could

⁸⁸ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 554. This part, however, is missing in Pontanus’ survey of the city, which ends with the death of Karel van Egmond in 1538.

⁸⁹ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, pp. 33–44.

⁹⁰ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 522.

be lured to Nijmegen for the planned assault.⁹¹ Although van Slichtenhorst touched on such key events in the Revolt as the sieges of Leiden, Naarden and Haarlem, and praised the princes of Orange as the champions of the uprising, he used every opportunity to smear the reputation of Holland and its role in the Revolt.⁹² He mentioned, for instance, the Duke of Alva's welcome in Amsterdam after the siege of Haarlem in 1574, when the city gave material support to him and his troops and even built a ship, called the *Inquisitie*, for this archenemy of the Dutch cause. He also sniped at Holland's selfish politics and even criticised that province's climate, as being much less healthy than the Gelderland climate and much too wet.⁹³ Even in this comment van Slichtenhorst included hidden—or not so hidden—remarks on the martial disabilities of the Hollanders claiming that “in a few years’ time even iron and steel get rusty over there.” In an earlier passage he had already pointed out that Gelderland had always been able to defend themselves against their enemies while “other provinces” had to ask their eastern neighbours for support.⁹⁴ He also rehearsed Smetius’ comments on the ‘purity’ of Gelderland’s society, which he compared to Holland’s openness to newcomers. In Holland, van Slichtenhorst argued, most indigenous customs and laws had been diluted by the influx of strangers who brought their own languages and traditions to the province. Holland, therefore, had lost its roots.⁹⁵ Moreover, in a variation of the theme of the Hollanders’ lack of martial qualities, van Slichtenhorst also criticized their eating habits: where Gelderland preferred hardy meals, Hollanders indulged in confectionaries and sweets.

However, these rivalries were forgotten in the final chapter of the text, which dealt with the Act of Abjuration. Here, the unity of the provinces was proclaimed, and references were made to the Batavian example, now firmly embedded both in Gelderland’s and in Holland’s past. Van Slichtenhorst’s acceptance of both Hollanders and Gelderland as the heirs of the Batavians can certainly serve as another

⁹¹ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 522.

⁹² The by now traditional key events of the Revolt were also recounted by Pontanus, who occasionally copied his own narrative from his earlier book on Amsterdam into the text on Gelderland. Compare, for instance, the account of the siege of Alkmaar, Pontanus, *Amsterdam*, pp. 61/62, *Historiae*, p. 917.

⁹³ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 526.

⁹⁴ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 30.

⁹⁵ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 30.

indicator for the fact that a genuine debate on the origins of the Batavians was no longer a serious argument in learned circles. The claim that “we are all Batavians against the Spanish oppression” had already been part of Pontanus’ text. In spite of his introductory pages on the debate over the Batavian origins, Pontanus was, at this stage, aware of the shifting paradigm in the use of a Batavian argument.⁹⁶

The princes of Orange were the heroes of the uprising, and were compared to the legendary Batavian rulers Civilis Claudius and his brother Julius Paulus. Their political activities were carefully described so as to assure the readers that the nobles, not ‘the people’ rose against first and foremost the evil representatives of the king rather against Philip himself. The account culminated in the assurance that the current king of Spain, Philip IV, had eventually accepted the independence of the seven United Provinces in the Treaty of Westphalia. Claudius Civilis Batavus and William of Orange had also been depicted in the frontispieces of both Pontanus’ and van Slichtenhorst’s books. The two figures were presented in full military regalia. The coats of arms of the initial four quarters of Gelderland were also incorporated into the image.

Throughout, van Slichtenhorst’s comments on Catholicism remained thoroughly dismissive. He firmly identified Catholics as conspirators siding with the Spanish tyranny as in the siege of Zutphen, where a “bloed-gierigh Franciscaner Monick wt de Stad geboortigh” (a blood-thirsty Franciscan monk and a native of the town) persuaded Alva to order the atrocities for which the episode became notorious.⁹⁷ Like Zeeland, Gelderland had a very low percentage of resident Catholics in the mid-seventeenth century, which allowed van Slichtenhorst (and also Pontanus) to use such strong language.⁹⁸ However, it is significant that they, like Boxhorn in his *Chroniik van Zeeland*, concluded with the Act of Abjuration and left more recent history unwritten. The controversies between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the first decades of the seventeenth century had been a very testing time for the unity of the Republic and had left deep scars in the political, religious and social composition of the United Provinces and particularly in Gelderland, where the population had been deeply divided

⁹⁶ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, pp. 551–55. Pontanus, *Historiae*, p. 952.

⁹⁷ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, part 2, p. 525.

⁹⁸ For more details see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 389, 642.

over the issue. These controversies were difficult to discuss even in 1639 and even as late as 1654. Pontanus' patrons, therefore, must have found it easier to end on a high note of unity, even in the light of the provinces' struggle to come to a more or less unanimous conclusion on the problem. In this respect, van Slichtenhorst followed his Latin predecessor.

Van Slichtenhorst used sleight of hand to deal with some awkward issues. The loss of the fourth quarter of the old Duchy, the *Overkwartier* with its capital Roermond, was firmly played down. Though the book had maps and 'bird's eye' views of the city and the quarter in its topographical description he omitted to say that these places were no longer part of the province. As pointed out earlier, Roermond's coat of arms was still included in the frontispiece of the book. This strategy could be justified by the decision of van Slichtenhorst to end his history of Gelderland in 1581, when the fate of the *Overkwartier* was still undecided, but at first glance, the book creates the image of an unbroken unity of the area, which did not correspond with the political realities of the time of publication. In the topographical part of the book, Roermond was described in great detail, but was rather briefly presented as the victim of the changing fortunes of war. That the city had remained loyal to the Spanish king was clearly not an outcome that fitted in van Slichtenhorst's narrative.

DRENTHE AND OVERIJSSSEL: MEGALITHIC GRAVES AND MIGRATORY TRIBES

While the texts of Boxhorn, Pontanus and van Slichtenhorst certainly demonstrate the high intellectual calibre of their authors as much as the eminently political message of their books, a second set of chorographies written from the perspective of peripheral provinces of the Dutch Republic can highlight both the different scope of the knowledge available about the past and a different approach to the application of this knowledge to a chorographical study. Johan Picardt, whose works on Drenthe, Friesland and Overijssel will be discussed here, was trained in Theology at Leiden and Franeker and served as a minister in a number of parishes in Drenthe, including Rolde and Coevorden, during the time of his historical research and writing. As will be shown, not only did he present a very different version of the Dutch Republic's past as seen through the eyes of his own province, but he also used a repertoire of historical arguments, which he

probably acquired during his studies in Leiden and through the reading of other historical works in a way, that differed substantially both in style, content and methodology from the studies of the authors we have already discussed. This discrepancy can be explained in part by his position as a Calvinist minister who was certainly more fluent in the composition of sermons than in academic discourse on history, and who used his historical writings not only to present his version of the past but also to fulfil his vocation and to spread the word of God among his readers. Picardt was unable to share and utilize the learned networks of the previous authors and lacked the academic connections and intellectual exchange that Boxhorn, Pontanus and van Slichtenhorst enjoyed. He was therefore unaware of the latest arguments about what constituted chorographical writings and presented a historical-topographical reading of his region which was outdated as a credible and learned interpretation of the past in intellectual circles long before Picardt took up his pen. He did not receive the scholarly recognition that he probably desired.⁹⁹ Whether his books were read by a wider, non-academic readership is not known.

Johan Picardt was born in 1600 into a family with deep roots in Calvinism. His father was a minister in the Reformed Church. His younger brother Alexander rose through the ranks of the Dutch West India Company and died in service in 1640; his second brother Wolther also trained for the Calvinist ministry and served a parish in Groningen. Following his Theology studies from 1620 to 1623 Johan Picardt became a minister in Egmond aan Zee in Holland. Here he married Roeka or Rocha van Brederode, by whom he had seven children. Picardt continued his studies in Leiden and was awarded a doctorate in Medicine in 1628. Whether he also attended History lectures at the university is not known. His interests then spread to agriculture, possibly prompted by the great loss of land to the North Sea, which he witnessed from his parish at Egmond aan Zee on Holland's windswept

⁹⁹ It is, perhaps, symptomatic of the lack of academic recognition for Picardt that he could not incorporate any dedicatory poems into his work. His *Korte Beschryvinge van Eenige Antiquiteten Der Provintien en Landen Gelegen tusschen de Noord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe*, Amsterdam (Tymon Houthaak) 1660 was, however, published with an addendum in which the author stated that he had received and read the *Beschrijvinge en Chronijck van de Heerlijckheydt van Vrieslandt* by Christian Schotanus (introduced here as minister and professor in Franeker), and that Schotanus' discussion of Frisian origins conformed with his own Gothic deliberations. Picardt was obviously keen to see his theories confirmed by academic writers.

coast. In 1637 he travelled extensively in France and Switzerland, journeys which he frequently mentioned in his books. His interests in agricultural experiments and, perhaps more importantly, disputes with his classis over his practice as physician alongside his ministry led him to consecutively abandon several positions at parishes in Drenthe. He finally settled in the garrison town of Coevorden on the western edge of the province bordering the Bishopric of Münster, where he was appointed minister in 1648. His writings on possible improvements in agriculture attracted the attention of Count Ernst Wilhelm of Bentheim, who facilitated his ministerial appointment and who also employed him as *Directeur* of a project to cultivate moors in his possession. It was here that Picardt embarked on a history of Drenthe which was published in Amsterdam in 1660. The *Annales Drenthiae* was preceded by a study of the antiquities of the provinces “gelegen tuschen de Noord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe”—and thus incorporating the provinces of Drenthe, Overijssel and Friesland—which was published a year earlier, in 1659, in Amsterdam. Picardt also wrote a separate history of Coevorden, which was published in Amsterdam in 1659.¹⁰⁰ The former two books were frequently issued as a single publication, and sometimes the *Chronyxken of Covorden* was also incorporated so that Picardt's three works on the history of the region could be found in one volume.¹⁰¹

Drenthe had a difficult and for its inhabitants frustrating history in the later Middle Ages and in the early modern period.¹⁰² The territory was thinly populated, with few towns and a small and not very prosperous elite of minor aristocrats and landowners. Its economy was heavily reliant on agriculture and dairy farming. The political outlook

¹⁰⁰ Johan Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge van eenige Vergetene en Verborgene Antiquiteten Der Provintien en Landen Gelegen tusschen de Nord-Zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe. Waer by gevoeght zijn Annales Drenthiae, Dat zijn Eenige Aenteyckeninghen en Memorien, van sommige Gedenckwaerdige Geschiedenissen, gepasseert in het Antiquiteit-rijke Landschap Drenth, van de Geboorte Christi af, tot op desen tijdt*, Amsterdam (Tymon Houthaak) 1660, *ibid.*, *Korte Beschrijvinge der Stadt, des Casteels en der Heerlickheyt Covorden*, Amsterdam (Tymon Houthaak) 1659. The latter was also published under the title *Chronyxken van Covorden* (see, for instance, the edition kept at the Warburg Institute, London).

¹⁰¹ The texts consulted for this study, kept in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, combine the *Antiquiteten* and the *Annales* as well as the *Korte Beschrijvinge der Stadt... Covorden* in one volume.

¹⁰² For an overview of the history of Drenthe see J. Herringa et al., *Geschiedenis van Drenthe*, Meppel (Boom) 1986.

of the provincial elite did not extend much beyond its borders and the leading men in the estates maintained a strong preference for independent local decision-making. Its largely rural population can also be characterized by its resistance to any types of reforms. In the Middle Ages Drenthe was under the power and jurisdiction of the bishop of Utrecht. In the wake of the expansionist policy of Duke Karel van Egmond it briefly came under the rule of Gelderland in 1522 only to be seized by Charles V in his war against the Duke in 1536. The territory remained a backwater during the confessional and political upheavals of the time. All was quiet in the area during the elsewhere turbulent 1560s and early 1570s. Drenthe was untouched by any major Protestant developments, it saw no iconoclasm, and it did not express any solidarity with Holland and Zeeland in 1572. Calvinism only became the dominant confession in 1598. For the Spanish forces, the landscape was an ideal marching ground for reinforcements from the east during the campaigns of 1568 and 1572. The use of the area as a supply route for military forces would remain one of its key roles, with varying levels of intensity until the end of the seventeenth century. Drenthe did not send delegates to the conference in Ghent which led to the Pacification in 1576. As a potential gateway for Spanish forces to enter the Low Countries from the neighbouring German territories, however, it was too important to ignore. Therefore the States-party sent George de Lalaing, Count Rennenberg, to the area to persuade Drenthe's leading nobility to sign the Pacification. The estates reluctantly agreed, but insisted the region was neither able nor willing to contribute financially to the States' expenses. They were therefore given no voice in the decision-making processes whether in Brussels or The Hague and this remained the case for the next seventy years. Drenthe also reluctantly and half-heartedly joined the Union of Utrecht in 1580, but its nobility became seriously divided when Count Rennenberg, who acted as *stadholder* in Drenthe, changed sides and joined the Spanish cause in the same year. Drenthe again became a major theatre of war, both as the battlefield for sieges and skirmishes from either side, and as a source of food supplies for both Spanish and Dutch troops. In 1584, the States General decided to cease campaigning on the eastern front. This gave some respite to the plundered and devastated region, insofar as now it was only plundered by Spanish troops in search of winter quarters and food for their men and horses and not also by their Dutch allies. Fortunes changed again in the 1590s when the main garrison town of Coevorden fell into the hands of the States. For the

majority of the population the military advances of the Dutch only meant a continuation of the deprivations. Politics in Drenthe then began to look west again. In 1594 the Drenthe estates petitioned the States General in The Hague for the province to become a full member of the United Provinces. This request was met with no enthusiasm from the States General which prevaricated until 1647. Politicians in The Hague would have preferred the territory to be governed directly by the States General as a Generality Land, a suggestion that was unacceptable to Drenthe's political leaders. Obstacles from The Hague took the form of requests for financial contributions which the war-torn and exhausted reign could not raise. Acceptance as a full member of the United Provinces was not granted. Bitterness at being let down by the Union and a general feeling of suffering and victimhood is therefore not surprisingly an underlying theme in Picardt's work.

If Picardt is known today, it is as an agriculturalist. As a historian, he has gained a reputation for his discussion of prehistoric monuments in the provinces of Drenthe, Overijssel and Friesland which forms a substantial part of his *Korte Beschryvinge* and which are also mentioned in his *Annales Drenthiae*.¹⁰³ Here, he faced the difficult problem of explaining the presence in the landscape of megalithic structures, for which there were no references in classical or any other texts. Picardt's solution must have raised eyebrows even amongst his contemporary readers for he argued, at great length, for the existence of giants in a distant, unrecorded past, who had arranged the stone monuments as graves for their families and friends.¹⁰⁴ Picardt's deliberations on the origins of these monuments can be ignored in the current context. They might, however, have further jeopardized the credibility of his writings within the learned circles of his time.

The histories of the provinces and the *Chronyxken van Covorden* were dedicated to the estates of Drenthe, Overijssel, Friesland, the Omelanden and the towns of Groningen and Coevorden. As early as 1650 Picardt had offered the book for inspection to the *Etstoel*, the highest council, of Drenthe. The council duly appointed a review committee, but the expected honorarium of 200 guilders was only granted

¹⁰³ Literature on Picardt is largely restricted to local history publications. See also M.A.W. Gerding, *Johan Picardt (1600–1670): Drenthe's eerste Geschiedschrijver*, Assen (van Gorcum) 1997. I am indebted to Harald Bollbuck for his insightful comments on Picardt's work and its response to the writings of Northern Humanists.

¹⁰⁴ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 22–36.

to the author ten years later.¹⁰⁵ It seems, however, that Picardt had not been given access to regional or local archives for his research. It has been suggested that he had started his work, namely the *Antiquiteten* and the *Annales* well before his arrival in Coevorden, while he was still minister in the parish of Rolde and led a rather isolated existence with his family on a farm in the village of Rhee.¹⁰⁶ The lack of archival evidence is, at first sight, the most striking difference between Picardt's works and the studies discussed earlier in this chapter. It may be that Picardt was not aware of how important original documents had become for a chorography in the seventeenth century, or perhaps he tried to gloss over the absence of references to acts and decrees in his work by not mentioning them at all. If he felt that his work suffered from these lacunae, he did not share his worries with his readers. Nowhere in his books did he mention archival sources or their absence. Instead, he based his discussion on a wide and diverse bibliography of what today would be labelled secondary literature, laid out in the first pages of his *Korte Beschryvinge*, the first of his studies under discussion here. Nothing is known about Picardt's own library or his methods of acquiring books. Whether he could borrow the relevant works from his brother Wolther alias Gualtherus Picardt, who was then minister in Groningen, can only remain a speculation. In any case, it does not seem that Picardt had the opportunity for intensive intellectual exchange in the isolation of his farm house in Rhee. His reading list included authors such as the sixteenth-century Jesuit traveller and writer José de Acosta, the Flemish ambassador of Charles V at the Porte in Constantinople, Oghier de Busbeque, and the navigator, adventurer and captain of the Dutch East India Company Jan van Linschooten, whose immediate relevance for a history of Drenthe, Friesland and Overijssel is hard to fathom. By including these writers in his reading list Picardt might have wanted to create the image of a widely read scholar, who was interested in more than just the land around him. While neither Linschooten nor Busbeque are mentioned in the text itself, Picardt referred directly to de Acosta's theories regarding the population of North America while explaining the great post-Roman migration in Europe and the

¹⁰⁵ Details in M.A.W. Gerding, *Johan Picardt (1600–1670)*, pp. 65f.

¹⁰⁶ For further details of the publication history of the three parts see M.A.W. Gerding, *Johan Picardt (1600–1670)*, pp. 65f.

origins of the Frisian people.¹⁰⁷ Alongside the Bible and early patristic writers such as Saint Augustine, he presented the traditional humanist repertoire of classical authors such as Herodotus, Polybius, Pliny and Tacitus, among others. His list also included the names of some eminent historians of Frisian history, notably Ubbo Emmius whose book contained chorographical treatises of Friesland, Groningen and East Frisia, and Bernard Furmerius, who, however, were not mentioned in the text itself.¹⁰⁸ Picardt also referred to a group of authors writing and discussing ‘Gothicism’, an intellectual movement in support of an ‘*origo gentis*’ in Scandinavia or, in contemporary nomenclature Scandia or Scandza populated by peoples with superior qualities of valour, energy and virility. Gothicism had developed particularly in Scandinavia in tandem with the Tacitus reception of the *Germania* in the Northern Renaissance as a response to the romanophile tendencies in early Humanism.¹⁰⁹ Authors with a Gothic programme explicitly mentioned by Picardt include Olaus Magnus, whose sixteenth-century studies on the peoples, flora and fauna of Scandinavia, together with similar studies by his brother Johannes, inaugurated a wave of writings in praise of or criticizing their theories of Gothic ancestry and the vision of the North as a “*vagina gentium*”, a womb of the nations. The term was borrowed from the sixth-century author Jordanes, whose *Getica* set the agenda for the Gothic origin myth of later centuries.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 7. José de Acosta, *Historia natural et moral de las Indias*, Madrid 1608.

¹⁰⁸ Both men were eminent historians of Friesland, who, however, used different approaches and methodologies of historical writings and were engaged in an epistolary exchange on the subject. See, for instance, Ubbo Emmius, *Rerum Frisicarum Historia*, Leiden (Haestens) 1598, Bernard Furmerius, *Annales Frisicorum Trias Tertia*, Leeuwarden (van den Rade) 1617. On Frisian historiography in the early modern period see Edzo Hendrik Waterbolck, *Twee eeuwen Friese geschiedschrijving. Opkomst, bloei en verval der Friese historiografie in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, Groningen (Wolters) 1952; Fokke Akkerman (ed.), *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469–1625: from the “Adwert Academy” to Ubbo Emmius*, Leiden (Brill) 1999.

¹⁰⁹ See, most recently, Inken Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate et clara antiquitate Gothorum. Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden*, Frankfurt (Peter Lang) 2004.

¹¹⁰ Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Rome (de Viotti) 1555, Antwerp (Plantin) 1558. A Dutch translation was published in 1665, too late for Picardt. Johannes Magnus, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque*, Rome (de Viotti) 1554, reedited 1617 as *Gothorum Sueonumque historia*. Jordanes, *Getica, sive de origine actibusque gothorum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH, Auctores antiquissimi 5.1, Berlin 1852. On Jordanes’ writings see, most recently, Arne Söby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths. Studies in a Migration Myth*, Copenhagen (Museum Tusculanum) 2002.

Johannes Pontanus was also mentioned here and if Olaus Magnus was on Picardt's reading list, then one can assume that of Pontanus' writings he found his *Rerum Danicarum Historia* relevant. Pontanus' work had been commissioned as a direct response to Johannes Magnus' aggressive, anti-Danish Gothicism, expressed in his *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque*, a book that was written in 1554, published by Johannes' brother Olaus, reissued in 1617 and translated into Swedish in 1620, and which formed the ideological backbone of Swedish expansionism in the seventeenth century.¹¹¹

'*Vetustas*', the establishment of the seniority of barbaric and in his case Gothic peoples over the Roman invaders is, in short, the key theme of Picardt's works, which in turn drew heavily on concepts developed by early Northern Renaissance authors writing more than 150 years earlier. In the light of the time gap between Picardt's own writings and the texts that he used, it is, perhaps, not surprising that the main lines of argument proposed in his studies were no longer part of the discourse among academics such as Pontanus and Boxhorn. Picardt's main source of authority and also his argumentative and methodological model was undoubtedly Albert Krantz, a Canon and academic teacher in Hamburg, whose studies on Saxony, 'Vandalia' and Scandinavia were largely written around 1500 and posthumously published in German translations in the 1560s and 1570s.¹¹² Krantz himself had died in 1517. He was included in Picardt's reading list and appeared on several pages in the text.¹¹³ It is likely that Picardt obtained his knowledge of some of the authors mentioned in his bibliography second-hand through Krantz' work rather than through original study. While borrowing heavily from Krantz, Picardt also frequently incorporated

¹¹¹ On Gothicism and myth see Olaf Mörke, 'Bataver, Eidgenossen und Goten. Begründungsmythen in den Niederlanden, der Schweiz und Schweden in der frühen Neuzeit', in: Helmut Berding (ed.), *Mythos und Nation. Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewusstseins in der Neuzeit*, vol. 3, Frankfurt (Suhrkamp) 1996, pp. 104–132.

¹¹² Albert Krantz, *Saxonia. Weitläufftige Fleissige und richtige Beschreibung der Ankunfft, Sietten, Regiment, Religion, Policeyen, Kriegen, Verrückungen, Vermehrungen, und allerley Geschichten, Hendl und tapferrer thaten der Sachsen, So sich etliche hundert jar vor Christi geburt, und folgendts biß uber das Jar Christi M.D.III zuge-tragen*, Leipzig (Faber) 1563; *ibid.*, *Denmärkische, Swedische und Norwägische Chronica*, Straßburg 1545. See also his *Wandalia oder Beschreibung Wendischer Geschicht: darinnen der Wenden eigentlicher Ursprung etc.*, Frankfurt (Wechel) 1575. On Albert Krantz see, most recently, the insightful study of Harald Bollbuck, *Geschichts- und Raummodelle bei Albert Krantz (um 1448–1517) und David Chytraeus*.

¹¹³ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 111.

interpretations which contradicted Krantz' version of post-Roman history. Alternative versions were often taken from Olaus Magnus. These discrepancies were never made explicit in the text and leave the reader with the impression that Picardt simply selected what he deemed suitable and most convincing for his narrative in praise of his province rather than analyzing and assessing different interpretations of these histories according to criteria of consistency and credibility. In Renaissance fashion, Picardt followed Krantz in combining a Gothic origin myth with biblical chronology and genealogy based on the forged texts of the Chaldean priest Berosus which had been received with excitement by intellectuals in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth century in search of a non-Roman ancestry and an alternative genealogical model for non-Roman tribes predating Roman texts.¹¹⁴ Picardt added some references to Troy and the Romans to his text and presented his readers with a rather colourful tapestry of Frisian and Drenthe people with roots embedded geographically in Scania, a place frequently referred to in the literature on Scandinavia, and chronologically in the biblical family of Noah through the line of his son Japhet and grandson Magog. Picardt's vision was firmly based on a northern, Germanic perspective on the history of his area. He was writing with the view to incorporating the Frisian and Drenthe ancestors into a Gothic genealogy which had gained academic currency in the sixteenth century and which formed a powerful tool in Swedish propaganda in the seventeenth century. With the help of Pseudo-Berosus, this lineage could be traced to an era well before the birth of Christ. This genealogy with its roots in Noah's descendants, not only outranked Roman ancestry, it also offered an alternative model to the Batavian master narrative presented by the writers of histories of Holland, Zeeland and Gelderland. Picardt explicitly emphasized Frisian seniority over Holland and Zeeland, based on the seniority of the *gentes* living in the province.¹¹⁵ The Batavians were not mentioned at all. According to Picardt the inhabitants of Holland and Zeeland were also descended from Scandinavian peoples, specifically from the Danes. If he followed Olaus and Johannes Magnus' argument rather than Krantz's, as seems

¹¹⁴ On Pseudo-Berosus see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and critics: creativity and duplicity in western scholarship*, Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1990. Both Annius of Viterbo, the forger of Berosus, and Berosus are mentioned in Picardt's bibliography.

¹¹⁵ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 15ff.

to be the case, then the Danish ancestry was only second to the Gothic lineage, so that Frisia could claim genealogical seniority over Holland and Zeeland. This perspective certainly provided Picardt and his readers with some 'cultural ammunition' to use against their powerful western neighbours. However, seniority, the reader was told, was not a convincing argument *per se*; what was important were the character and the achievements of the respective ancestors and here the Goths again clearly surpassed their western competitors. Picardt referred to the occupation of Rome by the Goths and their establishment of numerous kingdoms all over Europe as signs of their importance. No other nation with the exception of the Romans, he argued, had been as successful as the Goths. Frisian descent from this valiant nation, therefore, entitled Friesland prominence within the United Provinces.

The topographical extension of the Gothic and then Frisian populations, was however, left somewhat vague. The geographical boundaries offered in the title—"Provintien en Landen gelegen tusschen de Noord-zee, de Yssel, Emse en Lippe"—are not clear territorial or provincial markers. Likewise, the Frisians were occasionally likened to the Drenthinaars. In other passages in the text, the Drenthinaars were said to have been descended from another post-Roman migratory tribe, the Sueven or Suebi, whose credentials were similar to the Goths, and who also settled initially in Scandinavia before migrating to Brandenburg and Mecklenburg and from there westwards.¹¹⁶ In the *Annales Drenthiae* the Drenthinaars were then elevated to the status of the "true Frisians".¹¹⁷ The vagueness of the territorial boundaries in the description is also reflected in the lack of cartographic detail in all three of Picardt's historical publications. The edition used for the present discussion, which combined Picardt's three major historical works, included one double-paged map, drafted, the reader was informed, by Picardt himself and executed by Gerrit van Goedesberg, who was also the bookseller of the volume.¹¹⁸ This map does not mark provincial boundaries, but clearly shows the rivers Rhine, Ems and IJssel referred to in the title of the book as the topographical borders of the survey. It focuses on tribal descriptors with the *Frisii Maiores* and the *Frisii Minores* given prominence and Groningen and Assen

¹¹⁶ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, p. 128.

¹¹⁸ Picardt, held by the HAB Wolfenbüttel, 170.16.Hist.

each named *Colonia Gothorum*. Other engravings in this edition show the daily lives of the ancient tribes, their funeral and marriage rites, their religious practices and their conduct at war. The third group of images are portraits of the various Counts of Bentheim and portraits of two Frankish kings, “Meroveaeus, Mervede of Merve”—easily identifiable as Merovech, and Pharamond alias Warmont, whom scholars now regard as a legendary figure.¹¹⁹

A similar genealogical lineage based on the writings of Pseudo-Berosus and Albert Krantz was then constructed for the inhabitants of Deventer, Twente and Bentheim. In Picardt’s account they were descendants of the Vandals, also known, the reader is told, as Wends.¹²⁰ According to Magnus and others, these tribes were also descendants of the Goths, and their founding father was thus also Noah’s son Japhet and his family. Their first origins were in Asia, from where they migrated to Northern Central Europe and to the eastern Netherlands.¹²¹ Like the Goths they were presented as founders of powerful kingdoms, the nature of which, Picardt was careful to point out, was somewhat different from contemporary monarchies.¹²²

He thus populated a relatively small, rural area in the eastern Low Countries with the descendants of all the important tribes identified in various Northern Humanist discourses as the founding fathers of European nations and kingdoms, and mixed these genealogies with theories of monogenetic origin myths constructed through the diluvian narrative, which had been intellectually acceptable in the sixteenth century, but had lost its credibility by Picardt’s own time.¹²³ Bewildering as it is for the modern reader, this strategy must even

¹¹⁹ Picardt’s *Chronyxken van Covorden* included an engraving of Bathasar van Byma, a local noble, who was Colonel and Governor of Coevorden, but whose illustrious career included service in Brazil for the Dutch West India Company. Picardt’s eldest son, Johannes Picardt junior, had started his military career as a member of Byma’s regiment in the town.

¹²⁰ On the homonymous use of the terms “Wandalen” (Vandals) and “Wenden” (Wends) see Roland Steinacher, ‘Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen: Eine frühmittelalterliche pseudologische Gleichsetzung und ihre Nachwirkungen’, in: Walther Pohl (ed.), *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8, Vienna (Verlag Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 2004, pp. 329–353.

¹²¹ Both the alleged Gothic origins of the Wends and their asiatic homeland contradicted Krantz’ interpretation.

¹²² Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 99.

¹²³ Scepticism of these origin myths had already been expressed by Beatus Rhenanus in 1530.

have bewildered his more academic readers in the later seventeenth century. Whether he deliberately used this profusion of valiant, expansionist and successful ancestors as a means to call to his countrymen to become more involved in matters of politics and to raise the profile of a politically marginalized area or whether he was convinced that his Frisian homeland was truly the breeding ground of greatness in earlier times is unclear.

He then outlined the characteristics of the inhabitants of the provinces. Here he used descriptors of the Germanic peoples (including the Goths) which had become traditional following the discovery of Tacitus' texts in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The reader was thus presented with the stereotypes of simple and honest people who were valiant in war, hospitable in peace, virtuous and chaste towards each other.¹²⁴ Even without the knowledge of Christianity, they exhibited all the marks of good Christians, and, the reader was told in a somewhat exhortative tone, they conducted themselves much better than many of Picardt's contemporaries, who were educated in the Christian teachings. This attempt to raise the profile of his provincial ancestors not just in terms of origin myths combined with biblical narrative, but also in terms of Christian living, led, at one point in the story, to a suggestion that the first Christians in Friesland were Romans who brought the light of Christ to the natives well before the Christian missions of the eighth century. This theory, however, was then overwritten in the following paragraph by an account of Saint Willibrord and his fellow missionaries and their dangerous and at times futile attempts to bring the Christian message to the Frisian people.¹²⁵ A line was then constructed from the Goths to the Franks, who were portrayed as the conquerors of the Roman oppression and here, again, Frankish origins were firmly located within the area, thus stretching the ancestry of the French kings to "Benthemers, Twenters, Gelderschen, Sutpheners, Wtrechtse, Hollanders, Vriesen, Drenthers, Munsterschen en Westphalingen" (people from Bentheim, Twente, Gelderland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Holland, Friesland, Drenthe, Münster and Westphalia).¹²⁶ At the same time Picardt roundly ridiculed as

¹²⁴ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 50–59.

¹²⁵ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 110–111.

¹²⁶ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 83.

idle chatter French claims to a Trojan ancestry for Paris, as the city of Priam.¹²⁷

'*Vetustas*', antiquity, is also the underlying theme when Picardt discussed his patrons, the Counts of Bentheim and their role in the region and in the wider world. Here, a genealogical line was constructed via etymological explanations of place names to the stepson of Augustus Caesar, Drusus Germanicus.¹²⁸ The Bentheimers were presented as prominent members of the high aristocracy at the time of the Frankish and Saxon emperors. Not surprisingly in Picardt's attempts to raise the profile of the region they were also portrayed as the first noble house in the area to embrace Christianity. Bentheim was not part of the United Provinces, but, the reader was informed, the Bentheimers were the closest Reformed neighbours of the Dutch Republic, and had supported the Dutch cause—not least for their own benefit—suffering enormously in the war and sacrificing their own well-being for Dutch liberty.¹²⁹

Picardt made some tentative attempts at chorographical descriptions of the major towns and cities of his province, namely Groningen, Stavoren, Campen, Deventer, and of a number of smaller towns and villages in the area.¹³⁰ Here, he was mainly interested, again, in establishing the ancient and pre-Roman origins of these places.

The *Annales Drenthiae* offer a coverage of the remote and the more recent history of the province. This text, which was published shortly after the *Korte Beschryvinge* and frequently referred to the earlier book was, despite its title, an attempt at a chorographical survey with a discussion of the origins of the people in the area and an overview of its history. The latter was presented in the form of annals highlighting key events for the region such as the perennial wars between the bishops of Münster and Utrecht on the one side and Drenthe on the other which had frequently flared up over the previous 400 years. The early history, which was covered at great length, followed the same pattern that had been established in the *Korte Beschryvinge*.

¹²⁷ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 83.

¹²⁸ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 96/97. Here, Picardt again departed from the anti-Trojan message of his model, Krantz.

¹²⁹ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 98. This is another indicator of the presentation of the area as a victim and as a martyr for Dutch liberty.

¹³⁰ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, pp. 90–109. In these passages his lack of municipal documents is particularly evident. He argues instead by using references to other authors, whose relevance is not always obvious, and etymological analogies.

The reader was again introduced to the post-Roman tribes and the genealogy of the Goths, Wends and Suebi, Drenthe's ancestors. Even the giants reappeared here and the megalithic monuments attributed to their building activities were used to demonstrate Drenthe's seniority over Holland and Gelderland, whose architectural remains 'only' dated back to Roman times.¹³¹ As in the *Korte Beschryvinge* this search for a northern alternative to the Roman master narrative was embedded in a biblical framework. Connections with biblical ancestors were made, but in general, this aspect was treated less extensively than in the *Korte Beschryvinge*, to which, however, the interested reader was frequently referred for further reference. In respect of christianization, Charlemagne emerged as the sole champion of the Drenthe mission.¹³² There were no references to Saint Willibrord and his men, or, indeed any involvement of the Roman papacy in missionizing the Frisians, the Westphalians and other Germanic tribes. Christianization was here seen as the task of the indigenous ruler, who also combined the institutionalization of Christianity (by means of investiture) with the establishment of law courts in the country, called *Lotting*, which were subsequently transformed from religious to civil courts.¹³³

Throughout the text, war remained the general theme of the earlier and recent history of Drenthe. Picardt went into some detail about the Dutch Revolt and outlined Drenthe's unhappy role as a marching ground for warring armies.¹³⁴ The reader was then presented with the 'national' narrative of persecution and liberation, which had a decidedly Protestant tone highlighting the atrocities of the Spanish regime, particularly under the Duke of Alva and the consequences of the Inquisition.¹³⁵ The details of the war, however, were firmly based in Drenthe. There were no references to the famous sieges and heroic deeds of Holland's or Zeeland's citizens. Instead, Groningen and Coevorden were the cities under siege. With the changing fortunes of war in the area, however, the stories of these towns and cities could not be told as a simple, black and white version of success and failure. Groningen,

¹³¹ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae ofte een provisioneel Ontwerp en Beginsel van seekere Antiquiteten, en Beschryvinghe sommigher Ghedenckwaerdige Geschiedenissen, die in de Landschap Drenth gepasseert zijn, van de Geboorte Christi af, tot op desen tijdt*, pp. 127–136.

¹³² Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, pp. 161–165.

¹³³ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, pp. 162–163.

¹³⁴ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, pp. 221–256.

¹³⁵ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, pp. 221–224.

for instance, was besieged by both parties, became a Spanish fortification when Rennenberg changed sides and was then besieged by Count Philip of Hohenlohe and Count William Louis of Nassau. Likewise, Coevorden was frequently garrisoned by parties from both sides. None of the fortified places in the area, therefore, could be described in terms of heroic resistance and civic pride. The story presented here was an account of victimhood and passive endurance. The actors in the story were the generals and military rulers on both sides. Ordinary men and women played no part in Picardt's study.

Stylistically, both works bear the marks of Picardt's profession as a minister. This is already evident in the dedications of the two books. Neither text bowed to humanist conventions, there were no references to Ciceronian or other classical principles, or even the rejection of those. Both texts were almost devoid of Latin words and phrases. In his Dutch, Picardt often included colloquialisms, but also German words, which must have been commonly used on both sides of the border at his time. The texts were often written to reaffirm, exhort or praise; they were littered with references to biblical stories from both the Old and the New Testaments, and included citations from the Bible. Picardt used exclamations, repetitions and rhetorical questions, which certainly owed more to his weekly sermons than to rhetorical devices à la Cicero.¹³⁶

The *Korte Beschryvinge* begins, in the first sentence, with a reference to the Japhetical ancestry of the readers and concludes (after references to Babel and King "Balthasar") with Picardt's comparison with his own home to Jerusalem and Zion.¹³⁷ The biblical story, therefore, is the Alpha and the Omega of his text. This programme is even more outspoken in the Dedication of the *Annales Drenthiae*. Here, the use of classical examples had been replaced by references to the biblical world, which offered, Picardt argued, the most appropriate role models for good or bad conduct: "Men spiegelt sich alleen aen Godts Volck, de Kinderen Israels" (Man should only follow the example of God's people, the children of Israel).¹³⁸ References to God's guidance and support were made in the opening and concluding sentence of the text, thus again placing God at the beginning and at the end of

¹³⁶ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 57, Maer, o Landt! O Landt! Hoe zijt ghy nu gedegeneert!

¹³⁷ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, Dedicatie, n.p.

¹³⁸ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, Dedicatie, p. 124.

Picardt's deliberations. While the *Korte Beschryvinge* simply presented a table of contents in brief textual form, the *Annales Drenthiae* offered a rather more detailed programme of the aims of Picardt's study. Here the recent war cast a long and dark shadow over his address to the Drenthe estates. The emphasis on Drenthe's noble and valiant ancestry was explicitly included so as to set an example for Picardt's own time. The text was an outspoken appeal to the *ridderschap*, the knights who constituted the estates, to take up arms and to defend the fatherland. "Den Ploeg en de Wapenen kunnen met malkanderen wel accorderen" (The plough and the sword can work together) was Picardt's argument.¹³⁹ The country was described as a place which perennially suffered occupations. The reader was given a summary of the migration history presented in the *Korte Beschryvinge*. Drenthe was occupied by

de Brutale Barbarische Reusen, en kinderen Enakim: die bellikeuse Sweven of Swaben: de dappere Gotthen, naemlijck Firaesen en Dronthers: de strijdbaren Romeynen, de glorieuse Francken: die wreede Normanen: die geestelijcke Bisschoppen: die trotzige Saxen: die genereuse Gelderschen: die bloetgierige Spanjaerden: en eyndelijck de Heyr-legers van de, tot noch toe, ghezegende Unie. [the brutal, barbarian giants, and children of Enakim: the bellicose Sweven of Swabians: the valiant Goths, namely Firaesen and Dronthers: the warlike Romans, the glorious Franks, the cruel Normans: the spiritual bishops, the proud Saxons, the generous Gelderlanders, the blood-thirsty Spaniards, and lastly the armies of the, so far, blessed union.]¹⁴⁰

Equally instructive for Picardt's message was the "Summa en Recapitulatie deser Historien" at the end of his book.¹⁴¹ Here, he summarised the key elements of his and Drenthe's story: biblical descent, Gothicism, and a sequence of foreign invaders and their dominance over the land. This story was not told to inform; it had a twofold, if not manifold message for the reader. Firstly, it reminded Drenthe's rulers and the readers of the book of the ancient times when, Picardt argued, Drenthe was obviously very attractive for foreign invaders, who could have gone elsewhere (as some did), but chose to settle on Drenthe's rich and fertile land. Secondly, this glorious history should serve as a reminder, not just to the local population, but also to the

¹³⁹ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, Dedicatie, p. 125.

¹⁴⁰ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, Dedicatie, p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, pp. 272–274.

other members of the United Provinces, of the changing fortunes of Man. While Drenthe was now the poorest and least influential member of the Dutch Republic, this fate could befall the rich and prosperous provinces in time. Those who felt strong and were courted by the rest of the world might lose everything in a near or distant future. Lastly, Drenthe's fate should serve as a warning to the United Provinces as a whole that complacency could lead to decline and that nothing was assured forever. Here, Picardt cited examples from elsewhere in Europe, where once powerful kingdoms, and republics were now in jeopardy (his examples included England undergoing the upheavals of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, as well as Poland, Prussia, Denmark and the Spanish Netherlands). The last two paragraphs were then designed as an appeal to all members of the United Provinces to be vigilant, to adhere to the true religion, to obey the law, to strive for unity and to avoid discord, selfishness and personal gain. This was, clearly, the minister's recipe against disaster and the wrath of God. This last paragraph again showed both Picardt the preacher and Picardt the patriot of Drenthe, a province whose members felt disenfranchised, neglected and cut off from the prosperity of their western neighbours. As much as it was written for his countrymen and—women in the area, it also served as a reminder to the rest of the United Provinces of the greater unity of the Dutch Republic, of which Drenthe was still only a junior partner.

Picardt frequently mentioned the authors he had used, and referred to fables and songs, to stories told from father to son, as sources of information for a largely illiterate era.¹⁴² Occasionally, though not consistently, he discussed different versions of a history, and referred extensively, and at times rather inelegantly, to etymological origins of words and phrases to underline his arguments. Thus, he was using some of the tools required for historical writings, but he lacked the skill and the eloquence to present a convincing argument. His references to the various post-Roman tribes and their relevance for his regional histories, particularly in the *Korte Beschryvinge* were often awkward, additive

¹⁴² With his discussion of the role of sagas and fables as historical evidence in largely illiterate pasts, Picardt might have referred to the debates between Bockenberg and Dousa on this issue. Bockenberg is included in his above-mentioned bibliography. P.C. Bockenberg (1548–1617) in the preface to his *Historia et genealogia Brederodiorum* (Leiden 1587) argued that current local traditions could contain valuable historical information.

rather than connected, and likely to overwhelm the reader with their plethora of names and descriptions. The most damning indictment of Picardt's work, however, must be his involvement in a debate which had long lost its relevance for the intellectual elite of his time. The battle for alternative models to Roman dominance in terms of civility and culture had been fought long since. Even his mentor Krantz was out of date even before his books were published in German in the 1560s and 1570s. In the Holy Roman Empire a different discourse, sharpened by the Reformation debates, had replaced the construct of 'Honourable Barbarians'. Christianity and the adherence to the 'True Church' were now the markers of identity. '*Vetustas*' remained a prerequisite for the histories of noble houses, but the discourse on tribal origins had been replaced by a discussion that took firstly confessional and, secondly, territorial markers as its points of reference.¹⁴³ Lineage was constructed through references to (early) christianization, not through an attempt to create a synchronized genealogy and the reference to monogenetic origins. Synchronism in search of biblical forefathers was no longer seen as an adequate historical argument to create seniority and tradition. In the Netherlands, the reference to the Batavians was still part of the canon of a learned debate, but it was no longer their lifestyle and character which was highlighted to challenge the Roman verdict of northern barbarism. As we have seen the Batavian story was now mainly used as a rhetorical device to argue about Dutch politics in the Eighty Years' War. Despite the squabbles between Holland and Gelderland over the Batavian homeland, Batavian ancestry was now invoked to highlight the common bond among the members of the fatherland. The last serious discussion of the Batavian question, Johannes Smetius' *Oppidum Batavorum* had been published in 1644, and even here, the author, whose work had been much praised by the academic establishment of his time, based his arguments for a cultural alternative to Rome not on older texts, but on archaeological evidence to support his theory of the first Batavian city. Given the less than satisfactory position of Drenthe within the United Provinces, it is not surprising that Picardt did not use the Batavian framework in search of a common identity. Like van Slichtenhorst in Gelderland, Picardt constructed his province(s) in competition with the Hollanders and Zeelanders, and used seniority as a weapon against the western

¹⁴³ See, for instance, Thomas Fuchs, *Traditionsstiftung und Erinnerungskultur*.

provinces. In contrast to van Slichtenhorst, however, he constructed Drenthe's seniority through genealogical-ethnographical arguments rather than through reference to a clearly documented political past in the Middle Ages. Intellectually, Picardt had missed the boat.

In Picardt's as well as in Boxhorn's and van Slichtenhorst's works the ideological framework and the rhetoric of a *vaderland* remained carefully limited to their respective region. In his dedication, van Slichtenhorst praised the political elite of Gelderland as "de rechte vaders van 't vader-land"¹⁴⁴ and although Boxhorn did not explicitly use the term *vaderland* his narrative is unambiguously focused on Zeeland. Both authors, however, strongly emphasized the role of the "vereenighde landschappen" and the "Staten van de vereenighde Nederlanden" for the prosperity and well-being of their own particular province, and invoked God's help to protect peace and prosperity in the Republic.¹⁴⁵ Even from the peripheries of a disappointed and marginalised province such as Drenthe, the United Provinces remained the firm bond and the frame of reference, as shown in Picardt's discussion of the Counts of Bentheim.¹⁴⁶ While he also used the vocabulary of the "vader des vaderlandes" when addressing the nobles of Drenthe, his account of the Eighty Years' War was of a war of liberation of the Netherlands as a whole, an anti-Spanish war for the true religion, in which Drenthe and its neighbours played a decisive role. Its sufferings, he declared, were for the common good of the United Provinces, the unquestioned unity of which Drenthe was integral to:

Doch dit en kan niet versaecht werden: De meeste schade die de Landtschap geleden heeft gedurende dese langhdurige troublen die en heeft zy niet geleden om haer selfs wille: maer ten deele voor het welvaren der al-gemeyner Confederatie; ten deele voor haere naeburige Susteren, de Provintien van Vrieslandt, Groningen, en Omlanden. Drenthia en was de Bruydt niet om welcke men danste, maer Frisia, Gruninga, Omlandia. Drenthia evenwel moeste den aenstoot van alle dese Vryers uytstaen en lyden somtijds van haere eygene Susters: Nu zijn alle haere seven Susters Coninginnen, en sitten op seven Thronen in een

¹⁴⁴ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Dedicatie, n.p.

¹⁴⁵ van Slichtenhorst, *Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, p. 554; Boxhorn, *Chroniick*, p. 604. Here again Boxhorn refers to one of the key topoi in the early republic's rhetoric, the miraculous rise of the Dutch Republic from small beginnings to a mighty political and economic power.

¹⁴⁶ Picardt, *Korte Beschryvinge*, p. 98.

Conincklick Palleys, maer Suster Drenthina wert buyten gesloten en al klopt zy somtijds aen zy krijght evenwel geen gehoor.

[But this cannot be denied: the greatest damage that the region has suffered during those protracted troubled times, she has not suffered for herself, but partly for the welfare of the common confederation; partly for her neighbouring sisters, the provinces of Friesland, Groningen and the Ommelanden. Drenthe was not the bride, for whom the party danced, but Friesland, Groningen and the Ommelanden. Yet Drenthe had to endure the assault of all those suitors and sometimes had to suffer from her own sisters: now all her seven sisters are queens presiding on seven thrones in a royal palace, but sister Drenthe was excluded, and although she sometimes knocks on the door she is not heard.]¹⁴⁷

This rather ambivalent and vague patriotic rhetoric was a typical feature of the regional (and urban) histories of the mid-seventeenth century and later.¹⁴⁸ Sandra Langereis has highlighted the links between regional historiography and the wider political world of the Dutch Republic. These are reflected in the use of a *vaderland* vocabulary for the provinces and the appeal to a wider political unit at crucial moments in the Republic's past (such as the Act of Abjuration) in the chorographies of van Slichtenhorst and Picardt.¹⁴⁹ It was only in the eighteenth century that a clearer association of the *vaderland* with the whole of the Dutch Republic emerged. Not surprisingly, the renewed interest in histories—as opposed to chorographies—of the Northern Netherlands and the marked decline in the publication of regional and town histories and topographical descriptions corresponds to this trend. Yet, the *vaderland* of an eighteenth century author such as Jan Wagenaar, however, was still clearly seen through the provincial lens albeit the mighty province of Holland.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Picardt, *Annales Drenthiae*, p. 251.

¹⁴⁸ This and the following observations are discussed in E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, "Het begrip 'vaderland' in de Nederlandse geschiedschrijving van eind zestiende eeuw tot de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw", in: N.C.F. van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland*, pp. 163–179.

¹⁴⁹ Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁰ Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlantsche Historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigte Nederlanden*, 21 volumes, Amsterdam (Isaak Tirion) 1749–1759.

FLANDERS: SACRED SPACE AND HABSBURG PATRONS

Boxhorn's *Theatrum* inspired another chorographer and passionate amateur historian from the Southern Netherlands to embark on a similar enterprise for his own province. Antonius Sanderus was so impressed by Boxhorn's work, and perhaps even more by the engravings from Hondius' workshop, that he prepared and completed a chorographical survey of his own province, Flanders, which was eventually published in two parts as *Flandria Illustrata* in 1641 and 1644.¹⁵¹ Two further volumes were projected, but did not appear in Sanderus' lifetime.¹⁵² When he saw Boxhorn's work in print, he knew what format his own study should take.¹⁵³ He immediately entered into negotiations with Hondius and secured a contract for a publication in 1634. Equipped with a letter of recommendation from Philip IV he then started his research travelling around Flanders, which all too frequently brought him into conflict with his colleagues and superiors in Ypres, where his long absences were frowned upon. Sanderus' letters to potential sponsors among the aristocratic and urban elite in Flanders met with mixed responses and the money that he had expected to raise for his enterprise arrived only rather sparsely.¹⁵⁴ Sanderus, however, was so dedicated to his project that he invested substantial sums of his own money, largely to finance the numerous engravings that he had commissioned from Hondius. The Amsterdam publisher, however, took his time and frequently delayed the delivery of the prints. Hondius had started secret negotiations with the brothers Joan and Cornelius Blaeu and sold his entire business to his Amsterdam rivals in 1641. The Blaeus honoured their obligations to Sanderus and the first volume of the *Flandria Illustrata* was eventually published in

¹⁵¹ Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, Cologne/Amsterdam (Hendrick Hondius) 1641 and 1644.

¹⁵² The *Flandria Gallicana* was designed to cover what was then Flanders, while the *Paralipomena Flandriae* would be dedicated to omissions and later additions. *Familia et Patria van het onuitgegeven handschrift 16823 van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussel* published the projected third volume as *Icones urbium, villarum, castellorum et coenobiorum Gallo-Flandriae quae tertia pars est Flandriae illustratae* in 1974.

¹⁵³ Sanderus, foreword of the Latin edition. See also his *Apologidion*, 1651.

¹⁵⁴ For details on his correspondence with the local nobility and with the administrators of the Spanish Netherlands see Jules de Saint-Genois, *Antoine Sanderus et ses écrits. Une page de notre histoire littéraire*, Ghent (De Busscher) 1861, reprint Utrecht 1980, pp. 38–50.

the same year. In order to avoid potential difficulties with the censors in the Spanish Netherlands, it was agreed that a fictitious publisher in Catholic Cologne, Cornelius van Egmond, should be used on the frontispiece: However, in the book itself, the prints were often identified as being from the Blaeu workshop, and Sanderus also explicitly praised the typographical and artistic skills of Hendrik Hondius, though not without pointing out that Hendrik's father Jodocus had been a native Fleming.¹⁵⁵ The first volume was printed by Willem Christiaensz in Leiden with a print run of 500 copies. Some of these were produced with beautifully coloured engravings and were clearly designed as presents for sponsors and patrons. The sale, however, was initially a failure and Sanderus became engaged in a protracted legal battle over 4,000 guilders with the widow Blaeu which lasted from 1652 to 1672.¹⁵⁶ The second volume, published in 1644 with the subtitle *Flandria Subalterna*, should have been succeeded by a third and fourth volume, *Flandria Gallicana* and *Paralipomena Flandriae*, but these were not published during Sanderus's lifetime. Despite the immense costs and the delays, Sanderus embarked on a second, similar enterprise with his *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, a chorography of Brabant, after the completion of the two Flanders volumes. The first volume of this chorography was published in Brussels in 1659.¹⁵⁷ In 1661, as criticism mounted against his all too frequent absences, Sanderus withdrew from his position in Ypres and spent the remainder of his life in Affligem Abbey, where he died impoverished in 1664. Despite all the financial difficulties, the *Flandria Illustrata* enjoyed a successful future. A second Latin edition appeared in 1732 and 1753 in The Hague by Christiaan van Lom. A Dutch version under the title *Verheerlijckt Vlaandre* appeared in Leiden, Rotterdam and The Hague by Jan vander Deyster, Jan-Daniël Beman and Cornelius and Frederik Boucquet in 1735.¹⁵⁸ This was not, however, a faithful translation of Sanderus' work. In the preface, the publishers admitted that they had

¹⁵⁵ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, Address to the reader, p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ See introduction to the facsimile edition of *Flandria Illustrata*, Tiel (Veys) 1978.

¹⁵⁷ Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, Brussels (Philippe Vleugart) 1659. For further details see Chapter VIII of the present study.

¹⁵⁸ Antoon Viaene, 'Van Flandria Illustrata naar Verheerlijckt Vlaandre. Bibliografische kanttekeningen op Sanderus, 1641–1735', *Biekorf* 70, 1970, pp. 193–204.

edited out some of the “Geestelijcke Saaken”, the religious elements of the work, because they might have been offensive to some readers.¹⁵⁹

In his arrangement of the material Sanderus followed Boxhorn’s format. The first volume was dedicated to Philip IV, and the second to Ferdinand de Melo, then General Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. In both books, the Spanish overlords and the nobility of Flanders were generously praised as the custodians of the country. After a long and fulsome dedication to the regional nobility in Volume 1, it comes as no surprise that Sanderus gave great attention to houses, castles and other residences of the nobility of Flanders, who were covered in great detail and with numerous engravings. The greater and smaller religious houses were also treated in great detail. Although Sanderus lavishly illustrated the principal ecclesiastical and secular buildings in the foremost towns of Flanders, especially his home town of Ghent, the book leaves the reader with the impression that the nobility and landed elite, with their castles, ornate gardens and manor houses scattered all over the country, were as important, if not more so, than the old urban centres of the province. The switch from Hondius to Blaeu becomes evident in the second volume of the *Flandria Illustrata*, where the images are less uniform than in Boxhorn’s *Toneel* or the first volume of the *Flandria*. There are ‘bird’s-eye’ views, as well as prospects engraved by different artists and in different sizes. Although the quality of the engravings is uniformly high, the formats rather distract from the overall ‘shape’ of the book. They must have been assembled after the enterprise was transferred to the Blaeu publishing house. Since the first volume did not bring the expected financial rewards, the Blaeu brothers might have thought that a mixture of what they had in stock and newer engravings would suffice for Volume 2. The book followed Boxhorn’s format, with a discussion of the origins of the country, followed by a detailed account of the Counts of Flanders, who were presented in full-length images. Then followed the chorographical survey starting with Sanderus’ birth-place Ghent, which was described and continuing with Bruges and Ypres. The smaller cities and towns of Flanders were then covered in

¹⁵⁹ Antonius Sanderus, *Verheerlijckt Vlaandre*, vol. 1, preface. The Dutch edition also incorporated unpublished material from the projected volumes 3 and 4 of Sanderus’ original work.

Volume 2, which was conceived of as a continuation of the chorographical survey and did not contain any histories.

Sanderus' view of the past seems at first sight to be much more traditional than that of Boxhorn. He began his discussion with the Romans. Rather than considering ancient or post-Roman tribes living in the area, he discussed the administrative units of the country, which, the reader was informed, derived mostly from Roman organizations. Sanderus' key witnesses for the country's history and topography were the familiar classical authors including the geographers Strabo, Pliny and the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium Antonini*. This presentation of the administrative organization of the country in Roman times led Sanderus on to the establishment of bishoprics, which provided a more important frame of reference for the clerical administrator than potential ancestors and (legendary) founding fathers. A *gentium origines* was not necessary in a county that was provided with well-established administrative units. A clear and strong connection was thus made between the Roman Empire and the Roman Church and their administrators. This emphasis on administrative units also gave Sanderus the opportunity to confirm the role of the nobility as the bearers of administrative responsibility in the country. Yet again, continuity, not change was the message of his book. Sanderus' reference to Roman origins might have seemed old-fashioned to a Northern readership, confronted by its authors with a new version of history based on non-Roman tribes, but for Sanderus, continuity from Roman times was the strength of his argument. This strategy was pursued throughout the chorographical description, which had an air of timelessness. Events in the Dutch Revolt, when Flemish cities and towns had been on the front line, were not mentioned. Sanderus' description of Nieuwpoort, for instance, makes no mention of the epic battle between the troops of Prince Maurice of Nassau and Archduke Albert.¹⁶⁰ This might be understandable, given that the battle ended with a defeat of the Spanish forces. The siege of Ostend, however, which ended in victory for the Archduke and his forces, was equally omitted. It might be argued that the Ostend campaign had been a Pyrrhic victory. Moreover, Ostend was not captured by the Archduke, who, in fact, did not show himself to be a very competent military leader, but by his capable Italian general Ambrogio Spinola. Perhaps even more

¹⁶⁰ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 2, p. 636.

surprising is Sanderus' omission of the Catholic martyrs who had died in Flanders during the Revolt. In his description of Oudenaarde, for instance, nothing was said about the Catholic martyrs of the city—six priests and eleven other men who were drowned by the leaders of the Calvinist regime in the city on 4 October 1572. Johannes Mahusius, one of the martyrs and a native of Oudenaarde, who became the first Bishop of Deventer, is mentioned in the list of eminent sons of the city, but the circumstances of his death are, again, not given. These details did, however, appear in some detail in a later Latin edition of his book, published in Brussels in 1735. Here, the narrative of the martyrs was introduced with a description of the tomb monuments to four of the priests who had served at Oudenaarde's main church, St. Walburgis. The Dutch edition, however, again omitted any references of the martyrs.¹⁶¹ However, some rather laconic comments about the Eighty Years' War were scattered in the text. In the vignettes of the Counts of Flanders, for instance, where Sanderus covered Philip II, he briefly touched on the Revolt: "The Netherlands have engaged in an intestinal war and have enacted the saddest tragedy ever played out on the world stage".¹⁶² Where the Dutch Revolt entered his account, the United Provinces were simply labelled as the "Hollanders".¹⁶³ Sanderus' nomenclature also reflected the contemporary distinction Spaniards made between "Flamencos" denoting the inhabitants of all of the Netherlands, and "Holandeses", a term reserved for the members of the rebellious seven United Provinces.¹⁶⁴ They were also cumulatively labelled as "haereticos".¹⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, the Habsburgs were presented in a positive light. The reign of Philip II was noted not so much for his role in the Low Countries as his international commitments to the defence of Christianity throughout the world. These included his fight against the Turks, and also the battle of Lepanto which was mentioned in particular.¹⁶⁶ The history of the Counts of Flanders was, and had always been, world history. Robert II, for instance, was referred to with the title "Hierosolymitanus", of Jerusalem, for his participation in the First Crusade. Another count, Baldwin IX, was remembered

¹⁶¹ Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 3, Brussels (de Vos) 1735, p. 275; Sanderus, *Verheerlijkt Vlaandre*, vol. 2, pp. 37–46.

¹⁶² Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 1, p. 72.

¹⁶³ Sanderus, *Verheerlijkt Vlaandre*, vol. 1, p. 105.

¹⁶⁴ Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, 'The Pelican and its ungrateful children'.

¹⁶⁵ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 1, 151.

¹⁶⁶ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 1, p. 72.

with the title *Caesar Augustus Constantinopolitanus* for his role in the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople where he was crowned Emperor Baldwin I in 1204.¹⁶⁷ This history made it easy for Sanderus to present Flanders as a part of traditionally highly international dynasties and as just one theatre of war in the Habsburgs' fight for the 'True Religion'. Although there were full-length images of Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and of Philip III and Philip IV, Sanderus' historical survey ended with the death of Philip II. Contemporary history was certainly not on his agenda. For a more recent account of the lives of the Archdukes he referred the reader to the works of his contemporary and fellow historian Aubert le Mire alias Miraeus, whose editions of documents were also frequently mentioned in Sanderus' text.¹⁶⁸

Cathedrals, abbeys and monastic houses featured prominently in the chorographical surveys, where long lists of abbots and bishops supported the underlying message of Sanderus' work as to the longevity of Catholic organizations in the country. The chorography itself, however, followed standards established in similar Northern works. It discussed the etymological origins and the first settlement of the area and of the cities under review, assessed the classical and medieval literature available on Flanders, and divided its survey into civic and sacred spaces (which were both rather evenly covered). Sanderus did not shy away from praising Protestant chorographers and map makers of international standing such as Abraham Ortelius, William Camden, Gerhard Mercator, Hendrick Goltzius and Philip Cluverius, who were mentioned in the introduction to his text. His bibliography, the list of authors consulted that was given in the beginning of the book, included Protestant historians of the North such as Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, Johannes Isacius Pontanus, Ubbo Emmius, Janus Douza and Emmanuel van Meteren, who were cited alongside Sanderus' Catholic fellow historians Jean Baptiste Gramaye, Adrian van Meerbeeck and Justus Lipsius. The list was completed with references to numerous ecclesiastical and secular archives in Flanders, to world historians such as Sebastian Münster, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (here under his papal name Pius Secundus) and to the familiar canon of Greek and Latin authors.

¹⁶⁷ Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, vol. 1, pp. 37, 44.

¹⁶⁸ See, for instance, Aubert Le Mire (Miraeus), *Rerum Belgicarum Chronicon ab Iulii Caesaris in Galliam adventu etc.*, Antwerp (Lesteens) 1636.

In spite of several poems and verses dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which appeared in the first few pages of Volume 2 of the *Flandria Illustrata*, the *Flandria Subalterna*, Sanderus' chorography had a rather less pronounced Counter-Reformation message than his later works, such as the *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, and also, indeed, than earlier chorographical studies written from a Southern perspective.

REGIONAL HISTORIES IN COMPARISON

Regional identities remained strong markers in the Dutch Republic and also in the Spanish Netherlands. Regional characteristics which had featured in medieval and sixteenth-century texts remained powerfully present in seventeenth-century chorographies. In rapidly changing political circumstances, they provided an anchor for societies challenged by war and partition. In the North, rivalries between provinces which had been entangled in bitter wars throughout the Middle Ages and in the Burgundian and early Habsburg period were not edited out of these works. They were, however, overshadowed by the new master narrative of the Dutch Revolt and the establishment of the United Provinces.

The agenda of the regional chorographies discussed in this chapter was, perhaps not surprisingly, rather similar to that of urban chorographical works. The western provinces of the Dutch Republic were presented as a highly urbanized landscape, whose inhabitants could look back on a proud history of civic strife for liberty against a clearly defined enemy. The history of the provinces on the eastern peripheries was treated differently and oriented towards the east emphasizing strong links with the Holy Roman Empire. They also had to incorporate narratives of decline and marginalization. Gelderland focused on the region's glorious late medieval period and on the appreciation of its valiant, aristocratic traditions. Drenthe's historian, on the other hand, evoked a past based on the qualities of post-Roman tribes who had settled in the area. Yet both winners and losers of the Eighty Years' War frequently appealed to the unity of the Dutch Republic and, despite their criticism of Holland's dominance, positioned themselves firmly within the framework of the United Provinces.

Sanderus' survey of Flanders was embedded in a Counter-Reformation agenda presenting the province as a timeless, sacred space

guarded by the defenders of 'True Religion', the Catholic Church and the House of Habsburg. Here, Flanders was presented as one part of the Habsburg Empire. Relations to neighbouring provinces in the Southern Netherlands did not play a role in positioning the province in a wider context.

Differences in approach and methodology in the different texts were a consequence of the position of the respective researcher within or outside the academic community, and here geographical marginality did not always match intellectual marginality. While Arend van Slichtenhorst in Arnhem managed to keep in touch with the academic community through the networks that he had already established as a student in Leiden, Johann Picardt in Coevorden worked in isolation. Writing almost at the same time, both authors produced quite different versions of their respective regions, which arose not only from their different histories, but from their very different approaches to their task as chorographers.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ON THE BORDER: *BRABANTIA SACRA OR DER STATEN BRABANT*

Antonius Sanderus had hardly finished his first great chorographical project when he embarked on a second enterprise of a similar calibre. His *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* appeared in two massive volumes in Brussels in 1659 and 1663.¹ In this detailed and extensive survey, Sanderus developed a Counter-Reformation programme which elevated the part of the Duchy, which had remained under Spanish rule, to a sacred space *par excellence*, adorned by Catholic institutions, sanctified through the presence of holy relics and supported by the Blessed Virgin Mary (and occasionally by other 'Habsburg favourites' such as Saint Michael), who protected the faithful from fire, pestilence and heresy. The worldly custodians of this sanctity were the Dukes of Brabant and their heirs, the Habsburg rulers of the Duchy. Sanderus had learnt from the mistakes of his first great project. For the *Chorographia* he drafted two questionnaires which were sent to friends and acquaintances in Brabant, but also to parish priests, abbots, and other men who might have some knowledge of the history and topography of the area. The questions that Sanderus wished to be answered concerned the holy places of Brabant, the age and foundation history of churches, abbeys and monasteries, the records of any miracles or other exceptional events, and the list of abbots and other, mainly clerical, dignitaries. He also, however, inquired about the geography of the land, the distances between places, the flora and fauna, and other statistical material which had, so far, not been collected for the Duchy.² As with his efforts to raise money and aid for

¹ Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae sive celebrium aliquot in ea provincia ecclesiarum coenobiorum imaginibus aeneis illustrata*, vol. 1, Brussels (Philippe Vleugart) 1659, vol. 2, Brussels (Philippe Vleugart) 1659–1663. It was also published in The Hague by Christiaan van Lom in 1726/27. Other than the *Flandria Illustrata*, which van Lom published some thirty years later, however, no Dutch translation was provided. For the complicated publication history see Jules de Saint-Genois, *Antoine Sanderus et ses écrits*.

² The details of the questionnaire are reprinted in Jules de Saint-Genois, *Antoine Sanderus et ses écrits*, pp. 29–30.

the earlier *Flandria Illustrata*, Sanderus received a mixed response to his request (both for financial support and for information) and, to save additional time and energy, printed the texts as these had been submitted by his supporters and informants in the volumes without paying too much attention to different styles, and even languages, accumulated in the two books. The *Chorographia*, therefore, contained Latin as well as a few Dutch articles where, apparently, the authors had not submitted a Latin version of their texts. An account of the arrival of the omnipresent Saint Willibrord in the Netherlands, for instance, stood out as an extensive Dutch narrative, which recorded the activities of the missionary and his brethren in the Low Countries.³ The response to the questionnaire, however, seems to have met with reservations from some of Brabant's urban authorities. A later edition of 1726 of Sanderus's survey appeared with substantial omissions of what might have been seen as confidential information on legal claims and procedures in some of the cities presented. Jules de Saint-Genois even suggested that the second volume of the first edition had been confiscated and destroyed by order of the court of Tournai.⁴ More than his *Flandria Illustrata*, the *Chorographia* charted sacred space and emphasized religious houses and their role in the country. This programme was firmly focused on Spanish Brabant, but it also included subtle—and not so subtle—hints about events in the North. Volume 2, for instance, had a paragraph each on what were then known as the martyrs of Alkmaar and the martyrs of Gorcum—priests, monks and lay brothers of various orders who had been captured and executed by the *Sea Beggars* in 1572 and 1573.⁵ The account of the capture and execution of Catholics of Gorcum frequently recurred in the histories of the war from a Southern perspective. Adrian van Meerbeeck, for instance, who specifically set out to write a history of the war as a riposte to Emmanuel van Meteren's famous account, described in great detail the capture, gruesome torture and execution of the men from whom the *Sea Beggars* expected information on hidden church treasures.⁶ From the moment news of their death broke the story of

³ Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, vol. 2, p. 4f.

⁴ Jules de Saint-Genois, *Antoine Sanderus et ses écrits*, pp. 206f, 209–211.

⁵ Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, vol. 2, p. 12.

⁶ Adrian van Meerbeeck, *Chroniicke vanden gantsche Werelt, ende sonderlinghe vande Seventhien Nederlanden etc.*, Antwerp (Verdussen) 1620, pp. 323–324. On van Meerbeeck's work see my 'North and South: Regional and Urban Identities in the

the nineteen Gorcum martyrs was widely publicised within the Catholic world as a clear proof of the *Geuzen's* cruelty. Their case was taken up by the highest Catholic authorities and on 14 November 1675 the martyrs were beatified by Pope Clement X.⁷ In a sense the stories of Gorcum and Alkmaar represented a Southern response to the Northern canon of self-styled martyr-towns such as Haarlem and Leiden, and the dramatic, much-quoted accounts of their sieges. Each story in its own reading became an iconic event symbolizing heroic resistance against the tyranny of a cruel and fanatical enemy, and of endurance for religion's sake. The history of the Gorcum martyrs, however, was not normally presented in Southern chorographical surveys, for the simple reason that the events had taken place in a territory lost to the Southern cause and, as has been pointed out in previous chapters, because historical-topographical works written by clerical authors did not, in general, cover the Eighty Years' War in great detail, but filed the events under 'calamities'. The martyrs were, instead, presented in general histories of the war, as in the above-mentioned work of Adrian van Meerbeeck, or as monographs written specifically to tell their story, such as Willem Estius' *Novorum in Hollandia Martyrum passionis Historia*, first published in Cologne in 1572, translated into Dutch in 1603, and re-published with additions and amendments in Latin as *Historia Martyrium Gorcomiensium* in Douai in 1603 and in Namur in 1655.⁸ Other authors, such as Petrus Opmeer and Henricus Sedulius, also covered the story in their texts.⁹

The addition of the martyr stories remained the most prominent and most dramatic reference to the Eighty Years' War in Sanderus' survey. Although the martyrs formed no part of the Brabantine hagiographical

17th century Netherlands', in: Steven Ellis, Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History*.

⁷ They were canonized on 29 June 1865. For their role in Netherlandish cultures of memory see also Wim Vroom, 'De martelaren van Gorcum', in: Niek C.F. van Sas (ed.), *Waar de blanke top der duinen en andere vaderlandse herinneringen*, Amsterdam/Antwerp (Contact) 1995, pp. 106–117.

⁸ Willem Estius was professor of Theology at Douai and Leuven. Some of the martyrs had been his relatives.

⁹ Peter Opmeer, *Historia Martryrum Batavicornum*, Cologne (Henning) 1625; Henricus Sedulius, *Beatorum Gorcomiensium martyrum etc.*, Antwerp (Wolschaten) 1619. Relics of the martyrs were transferred to Brussels. In the 1727 edition of Sanderus' survey of the Minorite Convent in Brussels the presence of some relics of the martyrs is mentioned together with a very brief history explaining their origins. Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, vol. 3, The Hague (van Lom) 1727, p. 61.

world that he had created, they fitted well into his overall theme. They were certainly important members of the spiritual community of the Counter Reformation in the Low Countries and ideal candidates to give testimony to the sanctity of the Catholic world.

The task of writing a chorography of seventeenth-century Brabant was complicated by the rather chequered history of the Duchy, which for most of the conflict had been on the front line of the Eighty Years' War. Towns and cities frequently changed their overlords due to repeated sieges and captures, making it difficult to produce a straight narrative or a simple story of challenge and victory, which, as has been demonstrated, had been part of the chorographical repertoire in some of the Northern provinces, notably in Holland. More than anywhere else in the Low Countries, Brabant represented a theatre of war in which the various sieges, attacks and counter-attacks neutralized any clear achievement for either side. In the end, peace was reached through exhaustion, and the war petered out without a clear victory. The dividing lines between States Brabant, which became part of the Generality Lands under the authority of the States General in The Hague, and the southern area of the Duchy, which remained under Habsburg rule, were agreed at the conference table at Münster and Osnabrück. To complicate still further the notion of a straight topographical-historical survey of Brabant, the territory was pockmarked with small enclaves, such as the lordships of Ravenstein and Breda, governed by local or other nobles (including the Princes of Orange) and autonomous from the Dukes of Brabant and their successors on either side of the newly emerging border.

Sanderus solved the problem of how to deal with Brabant's partition into a southern and a northern part by quietly ignoring the loss of the latter area. In his description of the contested border town of 's-Hertogenbosch, which had suffered frequent sieges (with extensive media coverage) and finally became a city within the Generality Lands under the States' rule, he therefore concentrated on its medieval past. Recent events such as the capture of the city by Orangist forces in 1629, following an epic siege, were quietly ignored. One might have expected a greater coverage of the city's predominantly Catholic community, which stubbornly resisted any half-hearted attempts by incoming Calvinist ministers to force the city to change sides, but zealous Catholic, as Sanderus certainly was, he clearly baulked at the thought of antagonizing readers in the United Provinces. These might have seen such an interpretation as a transgression into propaganda and as an assault on

the hard-won peace of Münster and Osnabrück that had confirmed both States Brabant as a territory within the Northern Netherlands and 's-Hertogenbosch as one of its main cities.

Sanderus' work was preceded by earlier chorographies on the Duchy which will be discussed here. Chronologically, the analysis of the following work brings us back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and therefore to the beginning of chorographical surveys in the vernacular. Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven's *Chroniike van den Hertoghen van Brabant* was first published in Antwerp in 1606, and is thus the earliest regional survey to feature in this study. It is, perhaps, not surprising that, although his book displayed all the trademarks of a chorographical work, he referred to it as a chronicle, a genre associated with earlier works written in an annalistic form. Likewise, the reference to the Dukes of Brabant as the leading subjects of his book was somewhat misleading. Van Haecht, as he will be called hereafter for the sake of brevity, covered much more than a chronological line of rulers who could not easily be presented in one genealogical tree. Here, van Haecht might have felt the need to refer to these traditional markers of a chorography both to attract a readership and to place his own work within an already established tradition. While the history of the ducal house and their changing fortunes was covered extensively, van Haecht also outlined what he described in the subheading of his book as the landscape, the customs of the people and their trades, the description of every town and "other remarkable histories that had happened in Brabant and elsewhere".¹⁰ The first edition of the book was lavishly illustrated with engravings. It contained a map of Brabant dated 1599, views of the main cities of the Duchy, namely Leuven, Antwerp and Brussels, and also images of the most important saints, both local, such as Saint Gertrude of Nivelles, who was also a prominent member of the ducal house, and international, such as the founders of the prominent orders in the region, Saint Bernard, Saint Augustine and Saint Benedict. It also contained portraits of the Dukes

¹⁰ The full title of van Haecht's book is: *Chroniike vande Hertoghen van Brabant: Verciert met hunne figuren nae t'leven. Waer in hun leven ende oorlogen beschreven zijn: met oock de ghelegentheydt des Landts, de manieren ende handel des volcks besondere beschrijvinghe van elcke stadt ende veel andere selsaeme historien soo in Brabant als in andere Landen geschiet. Vergadert uyt diversche Historie-schrijvers, ende overgheset door Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven.*

and Duchesses of Brabant. When his book was published, the Low Countries were still at war and the Twelve Years' Truce some three years in the future. Decisive events of the early 1600s centred around yet more epic sieges, notably the three-year siege of Ostend, and similar, but more short-lived, campaigns by the States General against, among others, 's-Hertogenbosch, which was besieged in 1602. Thus, during the time of van Haecht's writing, the war raged in Brabant and on the very threshold of Antwerp, where his book was published.¹¹

Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven remains a rather enigmatic figure. Apart from the year and place of his birth (Mechelen 1527) and death (Antwerp 1603) little is known about a man who has left an interesting and diverse literary oeuvre ranging from verses for a popular emblem-book under the title *Mikrokosmos*, co-authored with Gerard de Jode, to a translation of the Psalms into his native Dutch.¹² Although van Haecht's background is obscure, his work offers an excellent insight into the Counter-Reformation world at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was, apparently, not a member of the clerical elite working for the Archdukes or the Catholic Church in the Spanish Netherlands. His *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant* was based on an earlier Latin history of the Dukes of Brabant by the leading Leuven historian Hadrianus Cornelius Barlandus, whose *Rerum Gestarum Brabantiae ducibus historia* first appeared in print in 1526. Van Haecht not only provided a translation of this popular work, which had been frequently reissued in its original language, but substantially changed and amended it and updated the narrative to the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹³ Although written in a time of war and political uncertainty, van Haecht's detailed geographical description of the territory of Brabant largely ignored the military campaigns of recent years and the Dutch garrisons in the northern part of the province, which Maurice of Nassau had captured in the

¹¹ On the siege of Ostend and related campaigns see Werner Thomas (ed.), *Het val van het nieuwe Troje*.

¹² Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Mikrokosmos*, Antwerp 1592, *Psalter Davids*, Antwerp 1566. Valerius Andreas' *Bibliotheca Belgica*, a reference work on authors in the Netherlands, compiled and edited in Leuven in 1643, mentions van Haecht as a "vir totus candidus & vitae integer scripsit" (p. 361), but does not give any further details on his career or educational background.

¹³ Barlandus' work was republished by Sigismund Feyrerabend in Frankfurt in 1580 and by Jean Baptiste Vrient in Antwerp in 1600. Vrient also edited van Haecht's Dutch version in 1606.

1590s. His Brabant seemed timeless, and extended in the north up to the province of Gelderland, taking the River Maas as its northern border, to Holland in the west and to France as its southern border.¹⁴ Moreover, in his view, Brabant belonged to the “seven-thien Belgische ofte Neder-landtsche Provincien”,¹⁵ a phrase typical (but not exclusive) for discussions of the Low Countries from a Southern perspective.¹⁶ He also mentioned the number of walled towns and cities—44—and villages—700—in the Duchy. His work was dedicated to, and probably also commissioned by, a merchant rather than by a member of the regional government or local magistracy. He named as his patron Edvardus Ximenes Pereta, an Antwerp entrepreneur. The strong emphasis on cities and towns and their trade in the book certainly reflected the interests of van Haecht’s benefactor: at an early stage of his survey, on page 4, he highlighted the trade links of Brabant’s principal cities with Spain, Italy, France, Turkey and India, the role of Brabant’s financial markets, and the excellent social provisions for its citizens.

Van Haecht started his book like the Bible, with Adam, who appeared in the first line of the address to the reader as an example of human curiosity and interest in history. Van Haecht thus echoed the references to Genesis prevalent in earlier cosmographical works such as Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia* of 1544 and Aenaeas Silvius Piccolomini’s *Cosmographia*, published in Venice in 1477, which had both influenced early chorographical descriptions and were both cited in van Haecht’s bibliography. A connection between biblical and medieval ancestry, as attempted by Johan Picardt, however, is not intended here. The biblical father of the human race was closely followed by references to popular classical authors, including Cicero, Thucydides, Titus Livius and Herodotus, who were cited as historians proficient in the presentation of Roman emperors and other great men and their valiant deeds. However, their heroes were clearly deficient, since they were not Christians and certainly not saints and *beati* like the heroes of van Haecht’s story, the Dukes of Brabant, of whom, his readers were

¹⁴ For this study I have used the edition preserved in the British Library, London. Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant: verciert met hunne figuren nae ’t leven*, Antwerp (Moretus) 1612, n.p.

¹⁵ Laurens van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, n.p.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Meerbeeck’s work, which included the “seventien Nederlanden” in its title. See footnote 6.

informed, more than 400 had been elevated to the status of sainthood or beatitude, thus making Brabant a holy land beyond question.¹⁷

In this illustrious list the most eminent native sons and rulers of the region were, not surprisingly, Godfroy de Bouillon, mentioned as the first crusader king of Jerusalem (although he had refused the title) and, before him, Charlemagne (whose birthplace is actually unknown).¹⁸ As has already been pointed out, both figures were also part of the then popular European tradition of the Nine Worthies.¹⁹ Readers of van Haecht's book were undoubtedly aware of the role of Brabant's noble ancestors in this illustrious group, which further added to the prestige of the Duchy as the cradle of the best and the brightest among the European elite.

As in Sanderus' later work, the theme of *Brabantia Sacra* was carefully laid out in van Haecht's story.²⁰ The sanctification of the territory through the emphasis placed on its saintly custodians, who were prominent leaders in the forefront of the struggle against heathens—whether Saxons or Saracens—, was not a new theme in Brabant's historiography. Authors such as Hennen van Merchtenen, in his *Cronicke van Brabant* (1415), and Pierre de Thimo in his *Brabantiae historia diplomatica* (1425), had previously portrayed Charlemagne and Godfroy as the most important and most pious ancestors in the otherwise rather scattered genealogy of the house of Brabant.²¹ Van Haecht

¹⁷ The role of hagiography for the formation of regional or national identity has so far not been adequately addressed by historians. For a discussion of this genre and its interpretation in the context of identity formation see Simon Ditchfield, 'Historia Sacra between Local and Universal Church', *ibid.*, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*.

¹⁸ Godfroy de Bouillon was a 'favourite ancestor' in the genealogy of the Dukes of Brabant. On the (late medieval) genealogy of the House of Brabant see Stein, Robert, *Politiek en Historiografie. Het onstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Leuven (KU Leuven) 1994; *ibid.*, 'Brabant en de Karolingische dynastie. Over het ontstaan van een historiografische traditie', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 110, 3, 1995, pp. 329–351.

¹⁹ Wim van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer. De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700)*, Amsterdam, (Amsterdam University Press) 1997.

²⁰ Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, 2 vols., Brussels (Philippe Vleugart) 1659–1672.

²¹ For a discussion of these works and their impact on the formation of a special Brabantine identity see Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Le Brabant, terre de sainteté à travers l'oeuvre de Jean Gielemans († 1487)', in: Boesch Gajano and Michetti (eds.), *Europa Sacra*, pp. 34–44. See also her: 'Patriotic saints or patriotic hagiography in Brabant at the end of the Middle Ages?.'

thus followed a long tradition in Brabant's secular and religious historiography.²²

Barlandus' Latin original also mentioned these two heroes, but his account of the Dukes of Brabant did not emphasize pious deeds and sanctity. Miraculous stories, which featured so prominently in van Haecht's account, were absent from Barlandus' work. Here, van Haecht clearly departed from the text that he had translated. He also altered the structure of Barlandus' study, which started with a straight narrative of the Dukes of Brabant and discussed the territory and its most prominent urban centres only in a rather short amendment at the end of his book. Van Haecht reversed this arrangement, extended the topographical description of the area, and added the narratives of the Dukes of Brabant in a second part, giving him greater freedom to develop the *topos* of Brabant as a sacred space. Although the Dukes of Brabant and their successors in the House of Habsburg were the express heroes of his story, the country itself, *Terra Beata Brabantia*, played an equally prominent part in his book.²³ Van Haecht described in detail the monastic houses, churches and abbeys and the religious orders in the towns and in the country. Men (and women, in the case of the nunneries mentioned here) of lesser prominence than their Habsburg and Burgundian overlords featured as essential players on this holy ground, indicating that not just the dynasty, but the land and its inhabitants, played a major part in the Counter-Reformation programme of Brabant. Descriptions of the main churches, such as Antwerp Cathedral, included details about altars and relics on display, which, in this particular case, were sent by Godfroy de Bouillon from the Holy Land, thus, again, emphasizing the spirituality of Brabant's overlords and the sanctity of the country itself.²⁴ What is

²² The accommodation of Charlemagne as the founding father of noble and saintly dynasties was not restricted to Brabantine historians. Charlemagne was, for instance, styled as the ancestor of the Bavarian house of Wittelsbach, and featured prominently in the court culture of Duke Maximilian I. See Trevor Johnson, 'Holy Dynasts and Sacred Soil: Politics and Sanctity in Mattheus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* (1615–1628)', in: Boesch Gajano, Michetti (eds.), *Europa Sacra*, pp. 83–103, here: p. 97.

²³ It has been argued that this emphasis on a holy land inhabited by holy people which were of equal importance as the sacred dynasty, as outlined in late medieval Brabant historiography, set the precedent for the development of the national hagiographical collections of the seventeenth century all over Europe. See Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Patriotic saints or patriotic hagiography in Brabant at the end of the Middle Ages?'

²⁴ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 11.

remarkable, however, is van Haecht's emphasis on geography, once he had declared what was within and what was outside 'his' Brabant. In his description of Maastricht, for instance, which, until 1632, was a condominium held between both the Prince-Bishop of Liège and the Dukes of Brabant, van Haecht gave precise distances between the city and neighbouring Liège, outlined the geographical position of 's-Hertogenbosch in relation to Antwerp, the River Maas and Ravenstein, and also gave detailed accounts of the number of villages and walled towns and cities in the territory, thus mixing the sacred space, that he had created in his first impression, with some statistical information to help the reader visualize the area and the landscape, and so claim it as their 'fatherland' in these times of trouble.²⁵ Wherever possible, the Dukes were connected, as the defenders of Catholicism and benefactors of churches and abbeys, with early Christian martyrs—as in the case of the description of Maastricht, where the Duke of Brabant acted as a canon in the church dedicated to the early missionary Saint Servatius, who died as a martyr in 395.²⁶ This strategy of combining the struggle for the Christian faith in its Catholic form with the role and the functions of the ducal house (and therefore, by extension to the Habsburgs) underlined the interpretation of Brabant and the Spanish Netherlands as a bastion of the Counter-Reformation, utilizing the arguments of seniority and unbroken tradition that had already been pointed out in Chapter IV as key characteristics of Scribani's text on Antwerp, which appeared four years after van Haecht's chorography.

The connection between saintly leadership and sacred space was again outlined, not surprisingly, in the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who ruled in van Haecht's day. The second part of the book, a straightforward narrative of the ducal house and its political heirs, the Habsburgs, culminated and terminated with the story of the establishment of Brabant's most sacred shrine in Scherpenheuvel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This episode, presented in a separate chapter entitled "Verhael van onse L. Vrouwe van Scherpenheuvel"²⁷ described the establishment of the chapel with the financial support and under the close supervision of the Archdukes. They had not only designed the chapel and the wider lay out around the venerated

²⁵ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, pp. 18, 20.

²⁶ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 20.

²⁷ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 115v.

Madonna and donated hand-made altar-cloths and precious vestments to the statue, but also made highly publicized pilgrimages to the image.²⁸ Van Haecht's description also included the story of the first miraculous appearance of the image of the Virgin, dating back to the times of the Iconoclastic Fury, and covered miracles performed by Mary in support of the resident peasant community. Described as "fame en ghedenckenisse", legend and memory, the authenticity of the stories was never questioned. At the end of the account, which also concludes van Haecht's book, there is another account of the intervention of the miraculous statue in support of the faithful. Here, the Virgin Mary ended the plague in Brussels after the city magistrates donated a gilded crown to the figure. This miracle occurred in 1603, the year of van Haecht's death, and therefore demonstrated that the statue still acted on behalf of the faithful and might do so in future. Scherpenheuvel, however, was more than the chapel dedicated to the Madonna. Its composition and topographical arrangement constituted a sacred space *par excellence*, which was clearly visible from a long distance and was an unmistakeable epitome of the holiness of Brabant.²⁹ It became one of the key locations at which the Archdukes (and their successors) expressed their piety and dedication to the Counter-Reformation cause. The reference to the miraculous powers of the Virgin of Scherpenheuvel in van Haecht's book fed into a general upsurge in devotion to the Madonna, whose image had been venerated locally and had, since the mid-sixteenth century, increasingly attracted pilgrimages from further afield. By 1603 accounts of the miraculous interventions of the Virgin gained greater prominence, not least because of the attention the Archdukes paid to the powers of the Madonna. In the first decade of the seventeenth century a number of highly successful miracle books accounting for the beneficial interventions of the Virgin were published in several languages. Among the most prominent works of this kind was probably Justus Lipsius' *Diva Sichemien-sis, sive Aspricollis*, which was printed in Antwerp by Jan Moretus in 1605 and provoked several literary reactions, both of approval and

²⁸ On the importance of Scherpenheuvel for Counter-Reformation piety in the Southern Netherlands see Luc Duerloo, Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen*, Leuven (Davidsfond) 2002. The archdukes had hoped that their veneration of the Madonna would help them to overcome their childlessness.

²⁹ Duerloo, Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*. See also Claudia Banz, 'Anmerkungen zum Ausstattungsprogramm der Marienwallfahrtskirchen in Scherpenheuvel', in: Luc Duerloo, Werner Thomas (eds.), *Albert & Isabella*, pp. 161–172.

disapproval.³⁰ Van Haecht was undoubtedly aware of these trends and welcomed them. His work clearly incorporated other literary products on Brabant and its role as a sacred space of the time.

Thus, religion, and more particularly Counter-Reformation Catholicism with its popular forms of veneration and sanctity, was literally the Alpha and the Omega of van Haecht's history. Adam in the beginning of the world—and in the beginning of this story—is complemented by the Virgin Mary, the 'new Eve', at the end.

The heroes of this story were the Dukes of Brabant and their heirs, Charles V, King Philip II of Spain, and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Like Sanderus' Flanders, Brabant's history was closely connected not only to Catholic Christianity, but also to world history from the Crusades to the Battle of Lepanto. This link was displayed particularly prominently in van Haecht's description of the reign of Charles V. Here, events outside the Duchy were presented in great detail in order to underline Charles' struggle for the 'True Religion' and the right political order in his empire. The reader finds references to the first public appearance of Martin Luther, the Turkish invasion of Malta and the expulsion of the Knights of St. John (whose refuges in Leuven and elsewhere in the province were described in the topographical part of the book), the Italian wars between Charles and Francis I, the German Peasants' War, the Anabaptist activities in Münster, and Charles' campaigns against the Barbary corsairs in North Africa.³¹ Immediately after the account of the death of the great emperor, van Haecht presented another miracle story set in Poland, which featured the desecration of a communion host by a group of Jews. The host miraculously started to bleed after the conspirators stuck needles and knives through it. The conspiracy, which included a Christian maid who had provided the host, was quickly uncovered through the intervention of King Sigismund, and the Jews and their helper were executed. A similar story, about the desecration of the

³⁰ Most successful, perhaps, was Philip Numan's *Historie vanden miraculen die onlanx in grooten getale ghebeurt zyn door de intercessie ende voorbidden van die Heylighe Maegt Maria op een plaetse genoemt Scherpenheuvel bij die stadt Sichen in Brabant*. The work was printed by Rutger Velpius in Brussels in 1604 and initially issued in three languages, namely Dutch, French and Spanish. By 1606 the Dutch version was already in its third edition. In the same year, an English version was published in Antwerp by Arnold Conings. For further details on the media history of Scherpenheuvel see Duerloo, Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*.

³¹ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, pp. 94–106.

host by Jewish conspirators and their gentile collaborators—now set in Brabant—was recorded under the date 1369.³² Without further comment, and with no apparent relevance to the history of the Dukes of Brabant (apart from giving the reader yet another example of how a rightful Christian king had dealt with the enemies of ‘True Religion’),³³ the story continued with the reign of Philip II, who was also presented as a great crusader against the Turks and as a politician with strong international commitments.

The war closer to home did not feature prominently in van Haecht’s account. Key events, however, were mentioned. There was a brief description of the Duke of Anjou in Antwerp in 1582 and 1583, but nothing about the siege of the Prince of Parma and the city’s eventual surrender to the Spanish troops two years later, which led to a massive exodus of men and money.³⁴ Archduke Albert’s campaigns and the recent sieges of Ostend, Lingen and Wachtendonk were described in great detail, outlining the heroic deeds of Albert and his gallant officers. The Dutch remained, as in later texts, anonymized as “de vyant” or as “de rebellen”.³⁵ Equally sparse were references to the Revolt in the topographical part of the book. The description of Antwerp’s defensive works built under the supervision of the Duke of Alba were mentioned as very helpful during what van Haecht described as the “commoners’ uprising and fury” (als...t’gemeyne oproerich en rasende wert)³⁶ in 1577. The changing fortunes of the city, however, remained vague in this account, and all forms of destruction and decline were ignored or played down. Instead, great emphasis was placed on Antwerp’s warm and splendid welcome to Philip II for his inauguration as Duke of Brabant at his *Joyeuse Entrée* in September 1549. This story was told in great detail with descriptions of the various triumphal arches and festivities organised for the occasion. Here,

³² van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 68. The event took place in Brabant in 1369.

³³ With the inclusion of the Jews, van Haecht actually mentioned more or less all non-Catholic denominations prominent at his time, starting with heathens in his reference to Charlemagne and including discussion of Muslims, Lutherans and Anabaptists, who are all seriously challenged, and in some cases, crushed by Catholic rulers.

³⁴ A brief reference to siege warfare was also made in the description of Maastricht, where the siege of the Duke of Parma in 1579 had ended in the destruction of large parts of the city. These were then more than adequately rebuilt, the reader was told. van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, n.p.

³⁵ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, pp. 115, 115v.

³⁶ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 11.

van Haecht referred to Cornelius Graphaeus' *Le triumphe d'Anvers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips etc.*, which had been published in Antwerp in 1550. It included a detailed account of the oath of allegiance which the town officials swore to their new overlord. A list of the city's dignitaries and magistrates who assembled to welcome their new ruler was presented at the end. The episode also served to shed a favourable light on Philip's great Burgundian predecessor and namesake Philip of Burgundy, who founded the noble order of the Golden Fleece in 1429. Honour, obedience, and prosperity under a rightful and sacred order were the main themes emphasized in this story. It also rather poignantly reflects the role that these entries played not just as public ceremonies and displays of power and wealth, but also as political events which constituted, rather than merely confirmed, the relationship between ruler and ruled. More than any other encounter, these joyous entries gave dramatic and symbolic expression to the complicated interplay of rights and privileges which was characteristic of Burgundian and later Habsburg rule in the Netherlands. The details of each entry, which every new ruler had to undergo, were carefully choreographed. They gave both sides, but especially the town oligarchies, considerable space, which they filled with eminently political statements concerning their expectations of the new sovereign.³⁷ It was certainly no coincidence that van Haecht lavished so much time on the ceremony, which married Habsburg procedures with Burgundian traditions. It has been argued that the Habsburgs had tried to play down the importance of these ceremonies which the towns on the other hand viewed as both an essential framework for acclamation of the new ruler and, more importantly, as a forum for the confirmation of their rights which preceded the festivities. Within the Low Countries, for the cities of the Duchy of Brabant, and for Antwerp in particular, the chief purpose of the Joyous Entry was the reiteration of the privileges granted to the Duchy in 1356. The violation of

³⁷ On the public ceremonies of the Joyous Entries in the Netherlands see Hugo Soly, 'Plechtige Intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd; communicatie, propaganda, spektakel', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* XCVII, 1984, pp. 341–361. On the entry of Philip II see Mark A. Meadow, 'Ritual and Civic Identity in Philipp II 1549 Antwerp "Blijde Incompst"', Reindert Falkenburg et al. (eds.), *Hof- Staats- en Stadceremonies, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 49, 1998, pp. 37–68. On public ceremony in the Southern Netherlands in the second part of the sixteenth century see Margit Thófnér, *A Common Art*.

their rights had been one of the key arguments of the Netherlandish nobles against Philip's rule, culminating in William of Orange's *Apology*, published in 1581.³⁸ The extensive presentation of Philip's entry into Antwerp and his reception in the city was, therefore, also a forceful political statement by van Haecht in favour of the sovereign and his rule, and against the alleged offences brought forward by the States party. Moreover, Antwerp's ceremonial response to a new ruler was often seen as a marker for the general mood in the country. The choice of this episode in this text, with its references to earlier practices was, therefore, anything but simply an opportunity to display Antwerp's and the Habsburg's wealth and grandeur, and van Haecht's readers would certainly have recognized the author's message. Why, it might be asked, did van Haecht use the entry of Philip as an example for the political spectacle of the Joyous Entry rather than the more recent ceremony in honour of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella? Accounts recording the event in great detail, such as Johannes Bochiuss' *Historica narratio profectionis et inaugurationis [...] Alberti et Isabellae* had been published in Antwerp since 1602 and would probably have been available to van Haecht.³⁹ Both Albert and Isabella featured prominently elsewhere in his text. However, it may be that van Haecht wished to demonstrate his loyalty to the controversial Philip as a response to the allegations of abuse of power expressed by the Netherlandish nobles, and which had led to the outbreak of hostilities.

The devastation of the war and the changing dominance of Dutch or Spanish overlords also remained somewhat vague in van Haecht's descriptions of what were contested border towns during the conflict. His account of 's-Hertogenbosch, for instance, did not pay tribute to the city's recent history, which included twenty years under Orangist rule. The town had become a member of the Union of Utrecht in 1579, but had returned to Habsburg rule later that year. It then became the centre of the Counter-Reformation programme of the Archdukes, who made the city the seat of a new bishop of North Brabant. In

³⁸ A carefully annotated English version of the *Apologie* is provided by Alastair Duke, 'William of Orange's Apology', *Dutch Crossing* 22,1, 1998, pp. 3–96.

³⁹ On the entries of Albert and Isabella see Margit Thöfner, 'Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and visual conventions in Johannes Bochiuss' account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp', *Oxford Art Journal* 22, 1, 1999, pp. 3–27; *ibid.*, 'Domina & Princeps proprietaria'.

1629 's-Hertogenbosch was recaptured by Dutch forces and remained within the Generality Lands after the Peace of Westphalia. However, this troubled history did not appear in van Haecht's description. The only reference he made to its turbulent past was an aside in which he mentioned "these troublesome and wretched times" (*dese troubele-use ende onsalighe tijden*)⁴⁰ and the martial and valiant character of the citizens, who were well equipped for these conflicts.

Otherwise, his main emphasis was on the economic character of the place. Trade and industry played an important role in his topographical descriptions of all towns and cities under review. In 's-Hertogenbosch, van Haecht praised the linen industry, which benefited from the quality of the water used for cleaning and bleaching, and whose output he estimated at 20,000 pieces per annum.⁴¹ He then covered the traditional landmarks in praise of the city with references to its most famous sons.

Van Haecht gave a particularly detailed account of Antwerp's economy and its role as an international entrepôt with trading links throughout Europe and beyond. Antwerp was praised for its hospitality and the accommodation offered to the large and diverse international merchant community which provided the backbone of its prosperity.⁴² This sanguine picture of the economic potential of the city at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which omitted the devastating closure of the Schelde trade, was certainly welcomed by van Haecht's patron. His presentation of Antwerp then covered the usual aspects expected of a chorographical survey: its religious houses, the city government, Antwerp's city rights and other rules and regulations.

In its style and approach, van Haecht's work was a typical product of its time. At the beginning of his book, and after his tribute to classical authorities, he presented a detailed bibliography of the works used and cited in his study. Here, the reader finds authors and

⁴⁰ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 18.

⁴¹ van Haecht, p. 18. This, however, was a rather optimistic view on 's-Hertogenbosch's economy, which had suffered substantially during the Eighty Years' War. Her main trading partners had been in Holland and in the Rhineland, which were now cut off as a consequence of the city's Spanish policy. The city lost about fifty percent of her population. See L.P.L. Pirenne, 'De voorgeschiedenis vanaf de Opstand, 1578-1796', in: H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt (ed.), *Geschiedenis van Noord-Brabant I, Traditie en Modernisering, 1796-1890*, Amsterdam/Meppel (Boom) 1996.

⁴² van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, 9v, p. 17. In this respect van Haecht's description echoed Guicciardini's description of Antwerp's citizens.

texts which were regarded as authoritative in the historiography at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. They included earlier specialist studies of the Low Countries such as Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione*, and the works of Pontanus Heuterus and Hadrianus Cornelius Barlandus (without an explanation of the relationship between Barlandus' and van Haecht's own work). As already mentioned van Haecht also made references to older world histories in which Brabant did not feature prominently, such as Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* of 1544, Aenaeas Silvius Piccolomini's *Cosmographia* of 1477, and the popular German world history by Werner Rolevinck entitled *Fasciculus temporum*, translated and published in Utrecht in 1480 by Johan Veldenaer. This selection reflected the traditional preference for world histories over local and regional histories in early humanist historiography. Even if he might not have used the material presented in these works, van Haecht clearly thought it necessary to include these older authorities to emphasize his own expertise and knowledge of the writing of history. Other authors such as Peter Canisius and Laurentius Surius directly indicate van Haecht's Counter-Reformation agenda. Surius provided an authoritative multi-volume hagiography, written in the 1570s as a riposte to the Protestant critique of miracles and the intercession of the saints. It provided a much-quoted defence of the genre itself and of popular Counter-Reformation beliefs and practices.⁴³ Laurens van Haecht, therefore, stood at the beginning of a Southern historiography which combined the historiographical genre of the chorography with a hagiographical approach to the region under discussion. His book was written with a strong cultural-political agenda based on the glorification of the Catholic Church, its popular manifestations in Brabant and its custodians in the country, the rulers of the House of Habsburg.

Laurens van Haecht was also very much a man of his time with his inclusion of fabulous stories and legendary foundation myths, which accompanied his discussion of the etymological origins of the towns covered in his study. Here, giants and legendary figures appeared side by side with attempts to make sense of the often Latin origins of place names in the region.⁴⁴ He departed from the more sceptical

⁴³ Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, 6. vols., Cologne (Quentel) 1570–1575.

⁴⁴ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 6v.

attitude of his contemporary fellow chorographer Justus Lipsius, but in general, the mixture of folk tales and research-based academic theories was typical of chorographies of the early seventeenth century. Johannes Pontanus too included a discussion of legendary founding fathers of the province of Holland in his history of Amsterdam.⁴⁵ This feature however disappeared from chorographical texts as the century progressed.

In some ways, van Haecht's history of Brabant remained exceptional because it was a work written in the vernacular by a lay author with no known links to the clerical and aristocratic establishment of his time. Later Catholic surveys of Brabant were written in Latin or in French without Dutch translations and by members of the clerical elite, whose interest in the region was strongly informed by the Counter-Reformation programme promoted by Brabant's Habsburg rulers and who mixed chorography and hagiography.⁴⁶

While Brabant remained a popular topic in Southern chorography and Counter-Reformation hagiography, Northern authors only gradually discovered the region as a subject of historical research after the Peace of Westphalia. Among the few Dutch authors with an interest in Brabant, Adriaan Havermans' *Kort Begrijp en Bericht van de Historie van Brabant*, published and printed in Leiden in 1652 by Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe, provides an example of the very different treatment that the region received from a Northern perspective. It offers an interesting alternative to van Haecht's study both from the different political perspective of a contested border region and in the light of the changes that the genre underwent in the roughly fifty years between the publication of van Haecht's and Havermans' works.

Adriaan Havermans was born in Breda. After studying at Leiden he became town clerk of Breda in 1637 and kept this position, which

⁴⁵ Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coopstadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1614, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁶ Petrus Divaeus, *Rerum Brabanticarum libri XIX*, Studio Auberti Miraei primum nunc editi et illustrati, Antwerp (Verdussen) 1610; Christophe Butkens, *Throphés tant sacrés que profanes Du Duchés De Brabant, contenant L'Origine, Succession & Descendance des Ducs & Princes de cette Maison, avec leurs actions les plus signalées*, Antwerp (Christiaan van Lom) 1641; Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*. For a detailed discussion of this genre and its revival see Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*.

his father Gerard had held before him, until 1653. His book was based on earlier research undertaken by his father, who had planned to write a history of Brabant.⁴⁷ Adriaan dedicated his work to Johan vande Kerckhove alias Polyander, an eminent Protestant theologian and Havermans' former teacher at Leiden University, and to Constantin Huygens, then curator of the Illustrious School at Breda. Politics in States Brabant remained contested after the Peace of Westphalia. Pockets of the territory such as the barony of Breda and the lordship of Steenberghe were under the strong influence of the princes of Orange, and became involved in the power struggle between the princes and the representatives of the States General which overshadowed Dutch politics in the first half of the seventeenth century and which erupted in 1650, ending with the failed coup d'état of William II against Amsterdam. Moreover, the area of Brabant under control of the States had remained largely Catholic, and having been a main target of Counter-Reformation initiatives during the Spanish occupation in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Protestant efforts to change the confessional structure of States Brabant after 1648 were largely restricted to a few urban strongholds. The suppression of Catholic masses and anti-Catholic measures after the Peace of Westphalia did not prevent the Catholic population from travelling a short distance to the neighbouring Catholic South or East to practise their religion. Havermans himself had married into an influential Catholic family in Breda and might have had Catholic leanings. The situation in Havermans' Brabant was thus rather unstable and although the political boundaries between North and South Brabant were more or less settled after 1648 the political and religious profile of States Brabant remained uncertain even in 1652. Moreover, relations between the territory and the States General were still in flux. As *griffier* of Breda, Havermans had been heavily involved in States Brabant's negotiations for full membership of the United Provinces. He had lobbied for the territory in The Hague since 1647.⁴⁸ His efforts, however, failed due to the opposition from Holland's delegates. States Brabant,

⁴⁷ I owe this and other information on Havermans' family to Otto van der Meijl. On Havermans see further: G.C.A. Juten, 'Adriaan Havermans', *Taxandria*, 32, 1925, pp. 27–32. A biography of Havermans has yet to be written.

⁴⁸ The debates and discussions on States Brabant's status within the Dutch Republic are carefully reconstructed in Marinus Paul Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke. Het vergeefse streven naar een gewestelijke status voor Staats-Brabant, 1585–1675*, Tilburg (St Brabants Historisch Contact) 1984.

therefore, remained part of the Generality Lands until the end of the Dutch Republic.⁴⁹

This precarious state of affairs, but also his own political interests were clearly reflected in Havermans' description. This began with a long academic discussion of the literature available for the study of Brabant, much of which was dismissed as either written by foreigners with a specific agenda, in which Brabant served only as a side issue—for example Froissart's *Chronicle*, and the works of the classical authorities such as Caesar, Tacitus, Ptolemy and Livy—or by earlier authors such as Albert Krantz, Johannes Trithemius and Willem Heda, who were still preoccupied with Trojan and other legendary origin myths, did not consult original sources and documents and were not interested in the countryside and the smaller towns with less spectacular foundation stories. Havermans' verdict on the classical authors was as critical as van Haecht's, but delivered from a very different perspective. It was not their lack of Christianity that unsuited them for the task of writing an adequate history of the region, but their lack of patriotism, or rather, their bias towards their own country, which informed their description of the region. After the dismissal of classical authors, Havermans ridiculed medieval writers and their reliance on legends and folk tales in historiography. Instead, he emphasized the role of historical documents which—he claimed—would shed a much brighter light on the past than folklore and myths derived from the Middle Ages. Here, however, he was also critical of the authorities in charge of archives and their refusal to collaborate with researchers. Church and monastic archives were singled out in particular for their rejection of modern scholarship. Of the more recent historians working on Brabant, Hadrianus Barlandus was judged less harshly, but even he was dismissed for being rather vague in certain aspects of his account. The eminent Catholic historians of Brabant Aubert le Mire alias Miraeus and Christophe Butkens were cited as fellow researchers who at least claimed to have seen copies of original documents, which they used for their respective works on the region. However,

⁴⁹ Marinus Paul Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke*. Holland's resistance was fuelled by both political and economic considerations: the delegates were worried about an increase in the power of the Orange family, who would be the only noble representatives of Brabant (the other aristocratic houses in the region were Catholic and thus ineligible for The Hague); they also worried about their own industries, which would, perhaps, migrate into Brabant where conditions were better and labour costs cheaper.

Havermans left the reader with the suspicion that these authorities, which were much quoted in contemporary literature, might have been rather naïve in their reliance on secondary evidence.⁵⁰ World histories, which featured prominently in Laurens van Haecht's bibliography, disappeared in Havermans' bibliographical survey. By the mid-seventeenth century it was no longer necessary to refer to cosmographic works of eminent Renaissance writers. Van Haecht's survey of the Duchy was not mentioned. This introduction was certainly intended to establish Havermans' status as a modern scholar who was aware of the historiography of his topic and who applied the latest methods and techniques of the historical profession to his work. What followed was partly a chorography of the region, partly a meticulous account of the medieval history of the Dukes of Brabant. Havermans outlined in detail the geographical boundaries of States Brabant according to the lines set down in the Treaties of Westphalia.⁵¹ The political history of the Duchy, however, described the area within its medieval and pre-1648 boundaries, starting with early medieval times. Roman Brabant was mentioned only in passing, with reference to the ancient inhabitants as presented in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and the works of Pliny. Here, the reader met the familiar ensemble of "Cimbren" and "Duytsche". More emphasis was placed on the Carolingian past and the divisions of the Empire under Charlemagne's heirs and successors. Charlemagne himself was only briefly mentioned in his political role. The single event recorded from his life was his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome in the year 800. Havermans' history ended with the Act of Abjuration, which was compared to a similar event in Brabant's history: the deposition of Jan IV of Brabant by the estates in favour of his brother Philip in 1420.⁵² This interpretation expressed Havermans' own ideas on the contractual character of political rule. As he pointed out, the power of the Dukes of Brabant rested on the formal recognition of the estates, which was granted only after the rulers' official acknowledgement of the traditional rights and charters of the country. According to the author, this procedure was still an essential part of the rule of the States General in Brabant: they had to comply with the traditional rights and privileges of the region. Here

⁵⁰ Havermans, *Kort Begrijp*, A2-A3; The works cited are Divaeus, *Rerum Brabanticarum libri XIX*; Butkens, *Throphés tant secrés que profanes Du Duchés De Brabant*.

⁵¹ Havermans, *Kort Begrijp*, p. 29.

⁵² Havermans, *Kort Begrijp*, p. 34.

he was referring to the important role of political acclamation, which van Haecht had also emphasized in his account of the Joyous Entry of Philip II. Here, however, the reference to Burgundian procedures was used for the opposite purpose, namely to justify the Act of Abjuration. Havermans also covered the then current legal state of Brabant, and pointed out that a delegation of seven Brabant councillors was now permanently resident in The Hague, representing the affairs of the area in accordance with the old privileges.

In Havermans' history a clear line was drawn between what was within and what was outside the jurisdiction of the States General. Without further explanation, however, two chapters specifically described two prominent cities in Brabant which were not in the heart of the Generality Lands: Maastricht in the North and Mechelen in the South.⁵³ No criteria were given for the selection of these two cities. Contemporaries and readers of Havermans' work, however, certainly recognized Maastricht as the oldest city in the region and, indeed, arguably in the United Provinces, and a place which legally fell under the sovereignty of the Dukes of Brabant (together with the Prince-Bishop of Liège), and Mechelen as the former centre of Burgundian power in the Spanish Netherlands. Within States Brabant Maastricht enjoyed a special status. The city was situated precariously close to the border and had lost its hinterland to its southern neighbours. Cushioned between the southern Prince-Bishopric of Liège and the lordship of Valkenburg the Catholic Church in Maastricht remained intact and Catholic worship was guaranteed by a decree of the States General of 1632.

Havermans' description of the city traced its origins back to Roman times, citing the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus, whose works on the history of late antiquity, he argued, offered an authentic, contemporary source for the early establishment of the city.⁵⁴ While the Roman history of Maastricht merely served as an explanation for the city's name—Mase Trajectus—much emphasis was placed on Maastricht's role as the seat of an early Christian bishopric (which was later, in 1200, transferred to Liège). Here, for the first time, church history entered Havermans' description, with an account of Saint Servatius, founder and first Bishop of the diocese of Tongeren and

⁵³ Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, chapters V and VI, pp. 7–10.

⁵⁴ Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, p. 7.

Maastricht, who died in the city in 383. Although generally very careful not to show any religious bias, here, Havermans used a Protestant nomenclature: Servatius was referred to merely as a bishop, not as a saint.⁵⁵ Descriptions of Maastricht Cathedral focused on its outward appearance rather than on its religious functions and sacred traditions. Architectural features such as the ornate towers subsidised by Charlemagne were discussed in order to emphasize the prominent role of the city within the context of the Carolingian reign rather than as a holy place of Catholic worship. Laurens van Haecht had also devoted a specific chapter to the city of Maastricht. For him, however, the Cathedral was a sacred space sanctified by the presence of “schoone Reliquien”, beautiful relics, and by the martyrdom of Saint Lambrecht, rather than a prestigious piece of architecture.⁵⁶ Otherwise, Havermans emphasized the legal position of Maastricht as the Dukes of Brabant, the Prince-Bishop of Liège and the Holy Roman Emperor jockeyed for power until the town was finally allocated to the Dukes under Charles V. Havermans also mentioned Maastricht’s first historian, Matthaeus Herbenus, a local schoolmaster, and his unpublished manuscript *De Antiquitatibus Trajectensibus*, thus pointing towards a tradition of chorographical writing on the city.⁵⁷

A very different story emerged from the description of Mechelen, which was not part of States Brabant, but belonged to the southern part of the Duchy. Here, Havermans focused only on the medieval power structure in the town and particularly emphasized the political events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Neither the earlier history nor the recent past were mentioned, but here, as in his coverage of Maastricht, Havermans outlined the struggles between Liège, Brabant and the Holy Roman Empire over the city.

Havermans’ detailed accounts of the changing overlords in medieval Brabant fed into an academic debate on the Netherlands’ legal position vis-à-vis the Holy Roman Empire, which as has already been pointed out in Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn’s texts in the previous chapter of this study, was under discussion by members of the legal profession both in Germany and in the Dutch Republic in the wake of

⁵⁵ Equally, Saint Monulfus, Bishop of Maastricht and Tongeren from 539 to 578, is only mentioned in his pastoral, and not his sacred, capacity. See Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, p. 7.

⁵⁶ van Haecht, *Chroniicke vande Hertoghen van Brabant*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, p. 7.

the Treaties of Westphalia.⁵⁸ Havermans even devoted a whole chapter, under the heading “Of, en hoe verre, Brabant het Rijck onderworpen zy” (Whether, and to what extent Brabant was subject to the Holy Roman Empire), to this question, one which subsequently became a pressing matter in Dutch politics in the light of French expansionist aspirations in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ While Havermans and his contemporaries were clear that Brabant was no longer a part of the Empire, the Dukes of Brabant still paid some form of nominal tribute to the Emperor.

Not surprisingly as a member of the educated elite, Havermans dedicated one chapter to education and centres of learning in the region, and here again, a Southern institution, the university of Leuven, came in for high praise. In a tribute to Breda’s patrons, the city’s own learned institute, the Illustrious School, founded by the princes of Orange in 1646, was also mentioned as a centre of high-quality teaching and research in all academic disciplines.⁶⁰

Havermans’ description of Brabant was carefully worded. Although he firmly outlined the geographical boundaries of States Brabant, based on the Treaties of Westphalia, he refrained from passing judgement on the religious and political outlook of the region. Although he clearly defended the Dutch Revolt and the subsequent abjuration of the Northern provinces he did not discuss the more recent past and the active involvement of Brabant’s citizens in the Eighty Years’ War. History outside Brabant was the history of the Holy Roman Empire, not the history of the Habsburgs. Relations between Brabant and the wider world were political relations with their German neighbours, based on a Carolingian and then Lotharingian tradition, which was renewed under the later Holy Roman Emperors and remained intact in different forms until the present, while relations with the (Spanish) Duke of Brabant, King Philip II, had been dissolved as a result of his political misconduct. Not surprisingly for a man in his position, Havermans’ view of the area was presented through a legal lens, outlining the rights and regulations of the territory and its relations to its neighbours. Although Brabant’s case for full membership in the United Provinces failed in the negotiations in The Hague, an event which

⁵⁸ For this debate see Kampinga, *De Opvattingen over onze oudere vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, p. 130 and Helmut Gabel, Volker Jarren, *Kaufleute und Fürsten*.

⁵⁹ Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, chapter XVIII, pp. 30–32.

⁶⁰ Havermans, *Kort Begriip*, chapter XXVIII, pp. 39–40.

Havermans acknowledged in 1652 with great disappointment, he did not adopt the aggrieved tone so characteristic in Picardt's treatment of Drenthe, a region which was also one of the losers in the creation of the Dutch Republic.⁶¹ Havermans had a very clear idea of States Brabant's political composition and its role as an equal partner in the States General: he had drafted a version of the possible membership of the estates of Brabant.⁶² Echoes of his vision can be found in his *Kort Begrijp*, which in this respect was not a survey of what States Brabant was, but what it could and should be. His focus, for instance, on the smaller towns of Brabant, outlined in the introduction to his work and also in chapter XXI "Van de Regeringe van Brabant", had also formed part of his 'draft constitution'.⁶³ Although 's-Hertogenbosch was States Brabant's main city, Havermans was well aware that the hegemony of the city would be counter-productive for the peace and prosperity of the area as a whole, and suggested in his draft constitution, as well as in the *Kort Begrijp*, that the smaller towns, Breda, Bergen op Zoom, Grave, Steenberg, Eindhoven, Helmond and others should have a collective voice to counter-balance 's-Hertogenbosch's dominance. He also incorporated Maastricht into the gathering of Brabant's cities and towns, although politically Maastricht with its dual sovereignty was an anomaly which did not fit easily into Havermans' and his fellow lobbyists' vision of Brabant's political future. He was not the only politician, however, who saw Maastricht as one of the jewels in Brabant's heavily-plundered crown. Havermans' special treatment of the city in the *Kort Begrijp*, in comparison, for instance, with his own native Breda can therefore be explained as propaganda in support of an inclusive concept of States Brabant. It is this chapter in particular which reflected Havermans' vision rather than the political reality of the territory.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke*, p. 241, see also p. 221.

⁶² Gemeentearchief Breda, oude archief van de stad Breda, ingekomen stukken 1644–1651 (inv. no. 249), cited in Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke*, p. 265.

⁶³ Havermans, *Kort Begrijp*, Voor-Rede tot Den Leser, n.p., XXI. Van der Regeringe van Brabant, pp. 34–36. See also Chapter XVI, where he explicitly mentioned these cities and towns as parts of States Brabant ceded by the Spanish king.

⁶⁴ He and his fellow negotiators soon realized that the inclusion of Maastricht in States Brabant would be unacceptable, and reorganized the proposed town assemblies accordingly. Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke*, pp. 267–268. None of their ideas would be realized within their lifetimes.

Havermans' survey of Brabant remained an exception. Although regional chorographies were particularly popular in the mid-seventeenth century, the contested border region did not receive much scholarly attention in the North. Clearly, a discussion of the Dutch heartland of Holland, Zeeland or Friesland was much more popular, and left more room for robust pro-Calvinist statements and unambiguous appreciations of the Princes of Orange and the brave citizens of those cities which featured prominently in the uprising, and which provided the stock repertoire of the regional descriptions of the time.

Moreover, States Brabant's status as a Generality Land under the authority of The Hague did not attract authors to appraise the area, which had been split up, did lack a university, and whose political rights remained restricted until 1795.

For men interested in presenting the history and chorography of States Brabant, it seemed easier to focus on particular cities such as 's-Hertogenbosch, which found its own chorographer in Jacob van Oudenhoven, a Calvinist minister in neighbouring Heusden who, like his Drenthe counterpart Johan Picardt, concentrated on the writing of historical works in his spare time. He produced a *Beschryvinge der Stadt ende Meyerye van 's Hertogen-Bossche*, his birthplace, which was published in Amsterdam in 1649. He also wrote a chorography of his place of residence, Heusden, a border town which had been then incorporated into the province of Holland.⁶⁵ Van Oudenhoven satisfied his desire to produce a regional chorography, however, with a translation of Petrus Scriverius' *Batavia Illustrata* (1609), thus covering Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, rather than his native Brabant.⁶⁶

In style and methodology, Havermans was a typical representative of the genre as it had developed north of the border in the second part of the seventeenth century. His scholarly introduction was almost identical, for instance, to Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn's survey of the older and

⁶⁵ Jacob van Oudenhoven, *Beschryvinge der wijt vermaerde frontier-Stadt Heusden*, Amsterdam (van Ravesteyn) 1650/51. For further details on van Oudenhoven's works see Raingard Eßer, 'North and South: Regional and Urban Identities in the 17th century Netherlands', in: Steven Ellis, Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History*.

⁶⁶ Jacob van Oudenhoven, *Oude ende nieuwe beschryvinge van Holland, Zeeland en Vriesland, midsgaders de opkomste geslachte, regeeringe en daden der selver graven, van Diederick den I. tot Philipp den III.. Nu erst uyt het Latijn in onse Nederlandsche tale gebracht*, 's-Gravenhage 1662.

more recent literature on Zeeland, which raised very similar issues of authenticity, clerical bias and archival research.

War and partition, but also the reorganization of territory acquired through the Treaties of Westphalia, such as the Generality Lands in the Northern Netherlands left their chorographers with a dilemma. It was here, more than anywhere else that the conflict left its mark on the historical-topographical descriptions. The Generality Lands were an anomaly in the republican story of the United Provinces and very few authors addressed their histories and chorographies. The changing fortunes of different border areas were equally difficult to incorporate into Southern scenarios. They did not fit easily into the emphasis on tradition and continuity so high on the agenda of Catholic historiography.

CONCLUSION

Chorography as practiced in the Southern Netherlands differed significantly from its Northern counterpart. The first and most striking difference concerns the sheer number of such publications. While in the Northern Netherlands even quite small towns such as Hoorn and Stavoren could boast their own chorographies, Southern chorographies focused on the old urban centres such as Antwerp, Mechelen and Bruges: only a handful of smaller towns received their own historical-topographical survey.¹ These did, however, often feature in the larger, provincial chorographies provided by court historians such as Jean Baptiste Gramaye.

The second observation concerns the use of language. Latin was the usual vehicle for the Southern chorographies and though some did appear in the Flemish vernacular, these were exceptional and often the result of later translations, usually undertaken in the North. Topographical descriptions in French, or translations into that language—increasingly the language of the administrative elite—, or Spanish, which might have reached a potentially wider market, as well as Spanish courtiers and administrators in Brussels, were conspicuously absent.²

Most of the works which did appear were written by members of the clerical elite whether writing at the behest of the Habsburg court, like Gramaye, or independently like Antonius Sanderus. There are,

¹ See, for instance, Adamus Westerman, *Christelijcke Zeevaert ende Wandelwech... Met een beschrijvinghe van de oude Anze Stadt Stavoren, De vijfde editie in velen stucken, vergroot ende verbeterd*, Theodor Velius, *Chroniik van Hoorn etc.*, Hoorn (de Groot) 1648. On Mechelen see *Historie der Antiquiteten vande Stadt ende Provincie van Mechelen, ghedeylt in dy Boecken, beschreven inde latynsche tale door den Hooghgeleerden Heer, J.B. Gramaye, Proost van Arnheim, ende Historie schryver der Prince in 't Jaer 1607 ende nu over-geset inde Neder-Landtsche taele tot beter verstaenbaerheyt van het leven ende Mirakelen van den H. Rumoldus, Patroon der selver Stadt. Tot Mechelen, Ghedruckt by Jan Jaye 1667*; Remerus (Remigius) Valerius (Wouters), *Chronycke van Mechelen*, Mechelen (VanderElst) 1685.

² For the use of different languages in the Habsburg Netherlands see Thomas Nicklas, 'Praxis und Pragmatismus. Zum offiziellen Sprachengebrauch in den Spanischen und Österreichischen Niederlanden', in: Thomas Nicklas, Matthias Schnettger (eds.), *Politik und Sprache im Frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Mainz (von Zabern) 2007, pp. 113–128.

however, significant exceptions to these general observations. Where civic authors produced chorographical studies on Southern cities, they usually did write in the vernacular—and often published in the North for a Northern readership. Jacob Maestertius alias James Masterson, professor of Law at Leiden University, wrote a Dutch description of his native Dendermonde in Flanders, which was published in Leiden.³ His *Beschryvinge vande Stadt ende Landt van Dendermonde* was dedicated to the *burgomasters* of Leiden and provided, Maestertius suggested in his introduction, an interesting case study of a city, which, like Leiden, had made its fortunes in the textile industry.⁴ Jacob van Lansberghe's *Beschryvinge van de Stadt Hulst* was printed in The Hague in 1687 and dedicated to the States General. Van Lansberghe was *burgomaster* of the Flemish city, which was finally conquered by Frederick Henry in 1645.⁵ Both texts followed the chorographical conventions established in the North at the time.

The lack of a local civic tradition of chorographical works in the Southern Netherlands has recently attracted attention with reference to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin has drawn attention to the paucity of urban chronicles in one of the most urbanized areas of Europe, apparently the more remarkable because of the presence there of a prosperous and powerful urban elite and well-organized, self-confident 'middle groups'—guilds, fraternities and militias—within the towns. She argues, however, that the reason lies in the complicated power structure in the cities which did not allow for a unanimous voice to become the mouthpiece of urban identity.⁶ Unlike authors working in what has been aptly labelled the 'urban chronicle belt' north and south of the Alps, Southern Netherlandish choro-

³ Jacobus Maestertius, *Beschryvinge vande Stadt ende Landt van Dendermonde, midtsgaders de costumen ende usantien, soo wel vande Stadt ende landt als van het princelycke leen-hof aldaer zijnde*, Leiden (Nicolaes Roas) 1646.

⁴ Maestertius, *Beschryvinge vande Stadt ende Landt van Dendermonde*, p. 2.

⁵ *Beschryvinge van de Stadt Hulst, Behelsende haer oude opkomst, aenwasch, tegenwoordige toestand, en veelvuldige gedenckwaerdige saecken, van tijdt tot tijdt daer in voorgevallen. Vergadert meest uyt de selve Stadts Archives, en verder uyt de voornaemste Historie-Schrijvers, ende in twaelf Hooft-Stucken afgedeelt en beschreven Door Jacob van Lansberghe, Borgermeester der selver Stadt In's Gravenhag, Gedruckt by Gerrit Rammazeyn, Boeckdrucker in der Houtstraet* 1687.

⁶ Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies*. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin (eds.), *Villes des Flandres et d'Italie*.

phers of the seventeenth century could therefore not draw upon an established tradition of historical-chorographical projects.⁷

The relatively small output of urban chorographies in the South in the seventeenth century might also be attributable to the different general approach to commemorative media in the Southern Netherlands. Here, pageants, processions, images, architecture and art rather than texts were used to convey a message of community. Anne-Laure van Bruaene has recently claimed the cultural policies of Albert and Isabella invented a new “*theaterstaat*”, where dramas and plays, pageants and other public displays of Habsburg power played a crucial role in conveying their confessional and political message.⁸ This strategy marginalized the written word. At the same time, court historians such as Gramaye monopolized the already thinly populated field of chorographical writings. The speed with which his various surveys of Southern Netherlandish provinces, ranging from Brabant and Flanders to Mechelen, Namur and Hainaut, appeared might have discouraged other authors from producing alternative accounts.⁹ Whether or not chorographical works were written in the vernacular by local authors and circulated as unpublished manuscripts is beyond the scope of this study. There is some evidence for their existence. Rumoldus Jacob Wetz’ *Beschryvingh der Stadt Aerschot*, for instance, was never published and only appeared recently thanks to the meticulous work of Willy Schroeven in piecing together the scattered manuscripts and the transcripts of the original text and similar enterprises might of course unearth other unpublished manuscripts in local archives across the Southern Netherlands.¹⁰ Of the seven Southern authors discussed in this study, only two were definitely not members of the clerical elite, while the identity of Laurens van Haecht remains obscure. This bias in

⁷ For the term ‘urban chronicle belt’ see Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *L’Ecriture de la Mémoire Urbaine en Flandre et en Brabant*.

⁸ Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, p. 177f. The term ‘theatre state’ initially coined by Clifford Geertz had been applied to Burgundian society by David Nicholas, ‘In the Pit of the Burgundian Theatre State; Urban Traditions and Princely Ambitions in Ghent’, in: Barbara Hanawalt, Kathryn Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press) 1994, pp. 271–295.

⁹ The most comprehensive bibliography of Gramaye’s works is still *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas, par le bibliothécaire en chef et les conservateurs de la bibliothèque de l’université de Gand, première série*, vol. XI, Ghent/The Hague 1880–1890, G95–G177.

¹⁰ Willy Schroeven, *Rumoldus Jacobus Wetz (1644–1721), Beschryvinghe der Stadt Aerschot*, Aarschot (HAKVH) 1996.

favour of a historiography, so directly informed by a Catholic agenda, influenced the way in which these chorographies were composed.

Those engaged in chorographical writings in the South—be they clerics or members of the civic elite—were as much caught up in the discussions about approach, methodology and presentation of their topic as were their Northern counterparts. The distinction between genres was quite as fluid for Catholic intellectuals as it was for Protestant authors. While humanist paradigms dominated the chorographies of the early seventeenth century, as is evident in the writings of Justus Lipsius and, to a lesser extent, in Carolus Scribani, elements of what has been described as a distinctly Catholic historiographical approach emerged, albeit in different stages, in the historical-topographical descriptions of towns and provinces in the Southern Netherlands. While in the Northern Netherlands discussions of what constituted a chorography concerned the relationship between *Descriptio* and *Historia*, chorographers in the South integrated elements of what later historians would label “Hagiography” into their surveys.¹¹ However, here, as elsewhere in the historiographical approach to the past, dividing lines were blurred and allowed for the incorporation of different genres into one text. That the lives of the saints as well as lists of bishops formed part of the intellectual framework of the clergy who wrote chorographies is not surprising. The emphasis on ‘Tradition’ as a strategy in response to the Protestant critique percolated from the great hagiographical projects of the late sixteenth century such as Cesare Baronio’s *Annales Ecclesiastici*, whose twelve volumes were published (among other places) in Antwerp between 1589 and 1612, into the historical-topographical genre with its roots both in the medieval *laus urbis* and in its Renaissance successors. Narrative elements taken from the *Historia* approach, the inclusion of which became characteristic of the Northern chorographies, were not part of a historical-topographical description in the South. Moral tales of the fortunes of man and exemplary stories of good conduct of citizens also disappeared in Southern chorographies after Lipsius.

As a result ‘Time’ was conceptualized quite differently in the Southern and the Northern chorographies. Where Southerners focused on continuity and did not pay particular attention to events and their

¹¹ For the relationship between historiography and hagiography see Simon Ditchfield, ‘Historia Magistra Sanctitatis?’.

causes, Northerners emphasized change and, especially in the case of Pontanus, 'packaged' this change into periods, of which the most recent was characterized by accelerated progress towards a present 'Golden Age'. It might be argued that the impression of timelessness created by the Southern authors more closely conformed to the requirement of the '*stedenlob*' as well as the antiquarian approach to a *Descriptio*. They also stood closer to the Strabonian tradition inaugurated by Guicciardini, who was cited by Scribani, Gramaye, Sanderus and van Haecht. *Historia*, on the other hand, rose to great prominence in Northern chorographies, and shaped the genre accordingly. These different approaches reflected wider and older debates around the conceptualization of the passage of time, which had begun during the Reformation, and gradually migrated from the realm of theologians and church historians into historical-topographical descriptions. The flexibility, or rather interpenetration, of historiographical genres regarded by Daniel Woolf as characteristic of the historical writing in seventeenth-century England, can also be found in the chorographical studies of the seventeenth-century Low Countries.¹² However, the way time was presented reflected the position and the attitude of the authors. Samuel Ampzing, for instance, failed to produce a convincing narrative for his treatment of Haarlem. He focused too much on arguments defending Protestant positions against what he saw as Catholic doctrinal and political errors. As with the works of his fellow minister Johan Picardt, the rhetoric and language of the pulpit frequently crept into his text. Where the past was conceptualized in the South, it focused on earlier, Carolingian and Lotharingian times, which suited the political programme of the Archdukes. Recent events were excluded, and one could argue that there were sound historiographical reasons for leaving the more recent past to authors writing in other genres. Southern authors did, after all, produce general histories of the war as well as accounts of particular aspects of the conflict. We have noticed how quickly histories of the martyrs of Gorcum were published and circulated, while authors such as Adrian van Meerbeek set out to reply to Emmanuel van Meteren's popular *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie van onsen tijden*.¹³ As their Northern counterparts, Southern

¹² Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', here p. 36. See also the Introduction to this study.

¹³ Adrianus van Meerbeek, *Chroniicke van den Gantsche Werelt, ende sonderlinghe van de seventien Nederlanden. Begrypende de Tweedrachten, Oorloghen, Veltslaghen,*

chorographers cited historians writing about the Eighty Years' War for the benefit of those readers, who wanted a narrative of recent events that formed no part of their own surveys. Not surprisingly, the historians to whom they referred wrote from a Southern and Catholic perspective such as Michael ab Isselt.¹⁴

The lack of a narrative in the Southern chorographies also allowed their authors to gloss over the painful and contested memories of the Eighty Years' War, which, more than in the North, had been a civil war with dividing lines running through urban and rural communities. The omission of the war and its aftermath from these descriptions served the interests of the Spanish government and its representatives in Brussels who refused as yet to accept the partition of the Low Countries and the establishment of the Dutch Republic. Even after the official acknowledgement of the existence of the United Provinces in 1648, the chorographical silences about the war helped to sustain an impression of continuity rather than change. Where more recent events were broached, these were usually 'hidden' in the biographical vignettes of famous religious and secular rulers.

Both in the North and in the South, chorographers gradually adopted the practice of collecting rather than interpreting evidence of the past—an approach associated with the antiquarianism of the eighteenth century. As in the North, the Southern authors writing in the later decades of the seventeenth century 'lost their authorial voice', which, as has been demonstrated, they had only gained at the beginning of the century. They now referred to an already existing local or regional chorographical tradition, and saw themselves merely as presenters, rather than producers of that tradition which was now firmly anchored in indigenous writings. If references were made to ancient authorities—and this was by no means always the case—they merely served as rhetorical devices rather than as evidence of an authentic account of the past. Rhetorical style disappeared under an avalanche of annotations and quotes. As in the North, Southern authors like Jacob Le Roy included images of artefacts such as seals, tomb monuments and other commemorative objects in their books. Again, as in the North,

Belegeringen ende Inneminghen van Landen en Steden, ende alle andere ghedenckweerdigste Saken, de geschiedt sijn vanden tijdt des Keyzers Caroli V. tot het jaer onses Heeren MDCXX, Antwerp (Verdussen) 1620; Emmanuel van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie van onsen tijden*; Delft (J.C. Vennecool) 1599.

¹⁴ Michael ab Isselt, *Sui temporis historia*, Cologne (Quentel) 1602.

chorographies in the South incorporated a wide repertoire of other commemorative texts, such as the accounts of the Joyous Entries of the various Habsburg rulers. In this way they created a distinct national culture, which looked back to the traditions of Burgundian and early Habsburg times and focused on the special relationship between rulers and ruled. In the Northern Netherlands, Dutch plays, poems and orations acquired a prominent place, while poets, scientists and men of action took centre stage as famous national characters. In the South, members of the supra-national Catholic Church, strove to standardise practices, cults and beliefs in order to counter what had been perceived as the many local and regional digressions from the sacred system and imposed this uniformity on their chorographical works. Moreover, the Habsburgs ruled over a far-flung empire and chorographies acknowledged this by framing the history of Brabant or Flanders as part of the world history 'made' by the Habsburgs. Where reference was made to 'literary giants' in the Southern Netherlands, for instance in Carolus Scribani's *Antverpia*, it was alongside clerical authors of international standing, who wrote in Latin. Those who wrote in the vernacular were excluded from this company. Yet, the mention of the traditional *rederijerskamers* and their literary productions in the chorographies of Geraardsbergen (and elsewhere) demonstrate that distinctive Low Countries and even regional tradition persisted. These were not swept aside, but exploited by the Habsburg authorities in their endeavours to forge an identity for the Habsburg Netherlands which was built on older, Burgundian, traditions and embedded in the local regions of the Southern Low Countries.

In the North as well as in the South, members of the urban and provincial elites actively promoted chorographical studies. However, at times they had limited success in prescribing the content of their works, as the history of Arend van Slichtenhorst's *Geldersse Geschiedenisse* demonstrates. Other groups within urban and regional society also had a stake in the production and distribution of these works. Van Slichtenhorst's publisher, like Amsterdam's Jacob van Meurs and Willem Doornik understood very well what made chorography successful in the market place.

The division within the Low Countries ran not only between the Northern and Southern states, but also between their western and the eastern provinces. In the Dutch Republic, eastern provinces such as Gelderland and to some extent Drenthe and Overijssel contextualized themselves within a past which was characterized by close links to the

Holy Roman Empire rather than to the (Spanish) Habsburgs. The status of an imperial city, which Nijmegen enjoyed, for instance, brought prestige and honour; it also allowed the cities and provinces to emphasize their political autonomy. These aspirations and memories compensated to some degree for the weak position in which they found themselves in the day-to-day politics of the States General in the second half of the seventeenth century. The association with the Holy Roman Empire as an alternative to the political systems of the Burgundian and (Spanish) Habsburg rule also appeared in Havermans' description of States Brabant. Here, again, references to the Holy Roman Empire also served to raise the profile of a fractured and disenfranchised province. These alternative narratives of belonging, based in the case of Pontanus' and van Slichtenhorst's account of Gelderland on an Imperial chronology found their corrective, however, in the invocation of the unity of the Dutch Republic harnessed to key moments in the history of the Eighty Years' War. The most frequently mentioned seismic event forging Dutch unity was the Act of Abjuration, which featured prominently in all of the Northern regional chorographies discussed in this present study. None of the chorographers presented here questioned the membership of their respective province in the new Dutch state. References to the Holy Roman Empire certainly did not lead to any considerations of changing allegiances and joining their eastern (rather than, perhaps, their southern) neighbours, but they did raise the profile of the provinces. Alternative narratives as developed in the eastern provinces perpetuated older regional traditions which had not been silenced by the formation of the Habsburg state. In this respect, the territorial continuities which have been identified as a characteristic feature of late medieval and early sixteenth-century regional identity continued to shape the chorographical presentations of the Dutch provinces a century later.

Differences from the master narrative of the western, maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland also manifested themselves in the different readings of the Dutch Revolt, which, in the case of the towns of Holland and Zeeland, was very much presented as a civic event carried out by the townsmen of these provinces, while chorographers of the eastern provinces emphasized traditional aristocratic values in the struggle. Winners and losers of the war certainly experienced and commemorated the past in very different ways.

To some extent, the perpetuation of regional traditions could also be detected in the presentation of the past in the Southern Low

Countries. The emphasis on its Imperial past was certainly a means to counter the present decline in Geraardsbergen, as also the emphasis on seniority rather than economic and political power as a marker of identity and cause for civic pride. In the South, it was the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholic Church which, according to the chorographers under review, united the provinces and kept economic rivalries and aristocratic competition at bay.

Lastly, differences in presentation and approach could also be linked to the existence of intellectual networks—or the lack of them. Chorographers in the North were often connected through having been to university, with Leiden and Harderwijk playing a leading role as a meeting place of future friends and fellow historians. These networks transcended the lines between academics such as Marcus Boxhorn and Johannes Pontanus, politicians such as Constantin Huygens, and antiquarians such as Peter Scriverius and Arnoldus Buchelius, who read and commented on each others' works. Where these networks were missing standards of scholarship failed to reflect the current debates on authenticity of sources, archival evidence and references to recent research. So, the isolated Johan Picardt in Drenthe filled the lacunae in his historical knowledge with fables and legends and fictitious chronologies long discarded by the academic community of his time.¹⁵ The pattern of chorographical research and writing varied. Alongside the mainstream of chorographers who were conversant with the academic debate, there were also a small number of amateur historians who tried to carve out a niche for their own version of the history and the topography of their area. Chorographies were used as a vehicle to convey a message of urban, regional and national identity which was characterized by an appeal to unity, but also by differences and by changes over time which manifested themselves both in the content of the narrative presented and in the style chosen for its presentation. As a genre chorographies in the Low Countries reflected the discussions on the writings of history in academic circles and on the role of antiquarianism and hagiography in this process. Texts were not static, and although following conventions established early in the century, authors could mould them according to their intellectual objectives. In the North they also absorbed personal narratives, orally transmitted from one generation to another, as in the case of Schrevelius'

¹⁵ Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', p. 36.

Harlemias and they included transcripts of popular songs sung by members of the warring factions on the battlefield. In this way they offered more than an elite version of events and their interpretation. The texts extensively incorporated other forms of commemorative media such as processions and pageants. This was partly a requirement of the genre, dating back to its ancient and Renaissance roots. It also reflected the shift from an emphasis on rhetorical to empirical knowledge which had come to be expected from historians in the seventeenth century, but this inclusion also reflects the aim of these works to incorporate memories of members of their communities beyond the elites, beyond regents, university academics and ministers. It is not then surprising that the appetite for chorographies was insatiable in the seventeenth century for this was a time when politics, society and culture were in such a state of flux in the Low Countries.

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INDEX

- Aachen, 130, 138, 139, 147, 148, 154
 Aarschot, 189
 ab Isselt, Michael, 302, 472
 Abjuration, Act of, 10, 243, 252, 259,
 260, 261, 281, 311, 312, 326
 Acosta, José de, 267, 268
 Adolf van Egmond, duke of Gelderland,
 258
 Adrian, saint, 208
 Abbey of, 210, 212, 216, 220
 Aemilius, Paulus, 171
 Affligem Abbey, 283
 Africa, 70
 North Africa, 182, 302
 Aguilón, François de, S.J., 167
 Aitzema, Lieuwe, 89, 100
 Albert, archduke of Austria, 4, 167, 176,
 177, 182, 184, 201, 202, 204, 209, 210,
 216, 218, 222, 285, 287, 296, 300, 301,
 302, 303, 305, 321, 323
 Albert, cardinal and bishop of Liège,
 saint, 182
 Albertsberg, House of, 115
 Albertus Magnus, 205, 258
 Alexandria, 59
 Algiers, 182
 Alkmaar, 116, 122, 233, 293
 martyrs of, 292
Alteratie. See Amsterdam: *Alteratie* of
 (1578)
 Alva, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke
 of, 29, 65, 107, 116, 117, 131, 248,
 259, 260, 261, 275, 303
 Amandus, bishop of Tongeren and
 Maastricht, saint, 163, 176, 178
 Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman
 historian, 145, 170, 312
 Ampzing, Samuel, 8, 22, 62, 108, 110,
 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126,
 128, 131, 132, 134, 137, 181, 212, 213,
 214, 217, 139, 244, 323
 Amstel, 57
 Amstel, Lords of, 38, 47, 72, 73, 89
 Amsterdam, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 21, 22, 23,
 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37,
 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48,
 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61,
 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71,
 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,
 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91,
 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,
 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111,
 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 120, 125, 126,
 130, 134, 142, 148, 149, 152, 154, 158,
 161, 166, 168, 180, 185, 187, 188, 195,
 222, 227, 228, 230, 232, 233, 234, 238,
 240, 241, 244, 252, 260, 264, 282, 308,
 309, 316, 325
 Alteratie of (1578), 29, 48, 58
 Anatomical Theatre of, 78
 and Dutch Revolt, 29, 34, 36, 53, 54,
 64, 66, 67, 71, 80, 83, 95, 96, 106
 See also *Alteratie* of (1578)
 Botanical Garden of, 78, 86, 93
 Exchange of, 31, 33
 Illustrious School of, 78, 79
 Jewish community of, 33, 34, 84, 97,
 99
 Nieuwe Kerk of, 32, 33, 59, 80, 91, 92
 Schouwburg of, 69, 74, 48, 94
 Town Hall of, 5, 14, 32, 34, 46, 42, 59,
 66, 68, 69, 73, 77, 90, 103, 158
 Anabaptists, 67, 68, 71, 82, 108, 121,
 132, 157, 302, 303
 Andrew, saint, 201, 220
 Anglo-Dutch Wars, 33, 75, 79, 80, 83, 92
 Anjou, François Hercule de Valois, duke
 of, 303
 Annius of Viterbo, 152, 270
 Anthoniszoon, Cornelis, 41, 91
 Antwerp, 2, 23, 32, 35, 37, 129, 161, 162,
 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170,
 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 179, 180,
 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189,
 192, 195, 197, 198, 205, 209, 210, 211,
 213, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 242, 295,
 296, 297, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306,
 319, 322
 Burchtkerk, 175, 176
 Cathedral, 171, 181, 185, 186, 299
 Fall of (1585), 30
 Nieuwe Beurs, 166, 171
 Sack of (1576), 166
 Siege of (1585), 164
 St. Ignatius-church, 167
 St. Michael's Abbey, 183, 186
 Town Hall of, 166, 171, 175

- Aquinas, Thomas, 205
 Arcerius, Johannes, 129
 archaeology, 145, 153
 Arminians. See Remonstrants
 Arnhem, 182, 248, 252, 289
 Arnold of Egmond, duke of Gelderland, 156
 Arnulf of Carinthia, king of East Francia and disputed Holy Roman Emperor, 198
 artes historicae, 8, 42, 45, 102, 134
 Asia, 54, 96, 395
 Assen, 271
 Assendelft, House of, 115
 Assmann
 Aleida, 12, 13, 14, 16, 129
 Jan, 12
 Audoënus, saint, 176
 Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, church father, 46, 58, 268, 295
 Augustus, Roman emperor, 274
 Aurelius, Cornelius, 49, 50, 143, 153, 234, 256,
 Ayala, Balthasar, 223

 Babel, 276
 Baerdesen, Willem, 32
 Baerle, Kaspar van, 78, 79
 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, 172, 287
 Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem, 211
 Baldwin IX, count of Flanders, 286
 Baldwin V, count of Flanders, 208, 209
 Baldwin VI, count of Flanders, 208, 157, 209, 210, 217, 219
 Barbary corsairs, 182, 302
 Bardeloos, Gerard, 232, 233
 Barlandus, Hadrianus Cornelius, 196, 197, 296, 299, 307, 310
 Baronio, Cesare, 322
 Batavians, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 76, 78, 84, 103, 115, 126, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 234, 235, 243, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 270, 271, 279
 and liberty, 53, 143, 148, 155, 70, 71, 201, 210, 219
 debate on, 53, 54, 76, 103, 143, 145, 146, 147, 152, 153, 257, 270, 271
 Lady Batavia, 158
 Bato, legendary founding father of the Batavians, 256
 Bavo, saint, 178
 Becanus, Goropius, 161, 169, 175, 183, 184, 185, 197, 198

 Beemster, 236
 Beggars. See *Geuzen*
 Beka, Johannes, 94
 Beman, Jan-Daniël, 283
 Benedict, saint, 295
 Benedictines, 20
 Bentheim,
 county of, 272, 273, 274, 280
 counts of, 272, 274, 280
 Bentheim, Ernst Wilhelm, count of, 264
 Benz, Stefan, 20, 179, 195
 Berchen, Willem van, 154
 Bergen op Zoom, 171, 231, 315
 Bergh, Willem, count of, 248, 259
 Berlaymont, Giles de, 157
 Bernard, saint, 295
 Berosus, 270
 Biesen, Jan van, 254
 Biondo, Flavio, 2
 Blaeu, 283, 284
 Cornelius, 282
 Joan, 24, 25, 72, 142, 154, 241, 242, 282
 Blessed Virgin Mary. See Marian Devotion
 Bloemendaal, 118
 Bochijs, Johannes, 183, 305
 Boelare, House of, 210, 219
 Boniface, saint, 119–185
 Bor, Pieter Christiaenszoon, 14, 64, 109, 116, 117, 128, 239, 246
 Borch, Pieter van der, 171
 Bossu, Maximilien de Henin, count of, 81, 82, 107
 Boucquet
 Cornelius, 283
 Frederik, 283
 Boumans, Elias, 34
 Boxe, Willem Christiaensz van der, 232, 242, 308
 Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius, 6, 24, 25, 37, 142, 227, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 253, 254, 256, 261, 262, 263, 269, 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 313, 316, 237
 Brabant, 9, 18, 25, 163, 170, 173, 174, 179, 182, 184, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221, 229, 240, 242, 251, 283, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 314, 316, 321, 325

- States Brabant, 171, 172, 294, 296,
 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316,
 326
 States of, 194
 Brabo, Silvius, mythical founding father
 of Antwerp, 175
 Brahe, Tycho, 36
 Brandenburg, 271
 Brandt, Gerard, 92
 Braun, Georg, 72
 Breda, 25, 82, 171, 231, 294, 308, 309,
 314, 315
 Illustrious School of, 309
 Siege of (1625), 25, 241
 Siege of (1637), 96, 229, 241
 Brederode, House of, 115
 Brennius, legendary founding father of
 Bristol, 56
 Brielle, 107
 Brimeau, Charles de, count of Megen,
 259
 Bristol, 56
 Brouwers, Johanna, 140
 Brownists, 97
 Bruaene, Anne-Laure van, 222, 321
 Bruges, 162, 164, 284, 319
 Brussels, 156, 162, 163, 167, 168, 182,
 183, 195, 204, 205, 217, 218, 250, 265,
 283, 286, 291, 295, 301, 319, 324
 Buchanan, George, 183
 Buchelius, Arnoldus, 9, 89, 94, 111, 236,
 250, 252, 327
 Burgundy, 201
 Burgundian rule, 48, 154, 194, 210,
 215, 242, 244, 245, 304, 326
 Burgundian state, 202
 Dukes of, 48, 202, 244
 revival, 202
 traditions, 325
 Busbeque, Oghier de, 267
 Butkens, Christophe, 310

 Caesar, Julius, 38, 51, 88, 119, 170, 183,
 257, 274, 287, 310, 311
 Calvinism, 17, 34, 48, 58, 61, 66, 78, 84,
 98, 119, 120, 121, 211, 181, 263, 265
 Calvinist Church/churches, 32, 34, 84,
 85, 98, 121, 139, 211, 286
 Camden, William, 7, 8, 11, 36, 89, 184,
 287
 Campen, 274
 Campen, Jacob van, 32
 Canisius, Petrus, 178, 307
 Cartier, Nelis, 122

 cartography. See maps and cartography
 Cassiodorus, Roman author, 112
 Cassius Dio, Roman historian, 88
 Castellan, Peter, 216
 Catharina of Bourbon, duchess of
 Gelderland, 156, 258
 Catherine of Alexandria, saint, 176
 Catholicism, 34, 58, 60, 63, 80, 99, 116,
 120, 130, 131, 151, 167, 178, 181, 188,
 190, 195, 204, 205, 211, 213, 214, 215,
 261, 287, 289, 293, 300, 302, 309, 313,
 322
 Catholic Church/churches, 3, 49, 58, 59,
 63, 106, 119, 123, 127, 174, 177, 179, 188,
 211, 257, 291, 294, 296, 307, 312, 325,
 327, See also Counter-Reformation;
 hagiography; Marian devotion and
 monasticism
 Cato the Elder, Roman statesman, 239
 Catterall, Douglas, 85
 Celts, 257
 chambers of rhetoric. See
 rederijkerskamers
 Charlemagne, 21, 53, 119, 120, 138, 156,
 157, 205, 217, 244, 258, 259, 275, 298,
 311, 313
 Charles Martel, 156, 173
 Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy,
 186, 202
 Charles V, archduke and Holy Roman
 Emperor, 58, 165, 173, 186, 210, 219,
 248, 259, 265, 267, 302, 313
 Chatti, Germanic tribe, 76
 China, 48
 Christian IV, king of Denmark-Norway,
 37
 Chytraeus, David, 43, 44, 49
 Cicero, 5, 11, 43, 74, 76, 102, 112, 126,
 134, 200, 276, 297
 Cimbri, Germanic tribe, 152, 197
 Claudius Civilis, 144, 146, 261
 Clement X, pope, 293
 Cleves, 248, 251
 Clovis I, king of the Franks, 150
 Cluverius, Philip, 53, 76, 287
 Cobergher, Wenceslas, 167
 Coevorden, 15, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267,
 275, 276, 289
 Cologne, 99, 283, 293
 War of, 259
 Commelin
 Caspar, 4, 22, 40, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90,
 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99,
 100, 101, 102, 103, 184, 185, 187, 195

- Caspar, botanist, 86
 Isaac, 88, 89, 90, 91, 97
 Jan, 86
 Conring, Herman, 76
 Constantine the Great, Roman emperor, 156, 287
 Constantinople, 267
 Coornhert, Dirk Volkerts., 61, 78, 106, 119, 121
 Cornejo, Pedro, 237
 Council of Troubles. See *Raad van Beroerten*
 Counter-Reformation, 17, 20, 23, 24, 165, 167, 168, 170, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 223, 288, 291, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 307, 308, 309
 Historiography, 179
 Counter-Remonstrants, 60, 79, 125, 261
 Cremona, 215
 Croÿ, House of, 191, 193
 Charles III, duke of Aarschot and, 189, 190, 191, 192, 200, 202
 Dorothea of, 191
 Croÿ-Roeulx, Claude de, 211, 217
 Crusades, 118, 173, 211, 218, 302
 Fifth Crusade, 106, 118
 First Crusade, 172, 173, 174, 286
 Fourth Crusade, 287
 Cueva, Alfonso de la, cardinal, 219
 D'Avila, Sancho, 166
 Damietta. See Haarlem: and Damietta legend
 Danes, 234, 244, 268, 270
 Danzig, 53
 Dapper, Olfert, 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, 22, 40, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 130
 De Rijp, 118, 133
 Del Plano, Gregorius (junior), 192
 Delft, 105, 129, 233, 239
 Dendermonde, 223, 320
 Denmark, 36, 37, 44, 45, 61, 115, 243, 278
 Descriptio, 39, 71, 128, 201, 322, 323
 Deventer, 272, 274
Devotio Moderna, 107
 Deyster, Jan vander, 283
 Dikkelvenne, 208, 211, 216
 Dionysios Halicarnassos, Roman author, 235
 Dionysius, pope, saint, 178
 Dirk I, count of Holland, 236
 Ditchfield, Simon, 20
 Divaeus, Petrus, 197
 Domselaer, Tobias van, 40, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 100
 Doornik, Marcus Willemsz., 1, 3, 325
 Dordrecht, 29, 57, 105, 126, 233
 Douai, 99, 293
 University of, 219
 Dousa, Janus, 38, 111, 114, 117, 119, 238
 Drenthe, 15, 230, 240, 247, 248, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 280, 281, 288, 315, 325, 327
Etstoel, highest council of, 266
 States of, 266, 277
 Druoon Antiguon, 175
 Drusus Germanicus, 274
 Duerloo, Luc, 201
 Düsseldorf, 250
 Duke, Alastair, 215
 Dutch Revolt, 10, 11, 21, 22, 29, 34, 36, 53, 54, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 95, 96, 103, 104, 106, 107, 116, 117, 121, 128, 129, 131, 135, 157, 200, 213, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, 237, 238, 239, 240, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 259, 260, 275, 285, 286, 288, 303, 314, 326
 Duvelaer, Susanna, 242
 Duyvel, Dirk, 79
 Dyck, Antoon van, 162
 Dynter, Edmond de, 196
 East Frisia, 268
 East India Company. See VOC
 East Indies, 65
 Echternach, monastery of, 105, 115
 Edam, 52, 118
 Edict of Nantes, Revocation of, 122
 Edward II, king of England, 256
 Egbertszon, Sebastian, 78
 Egmond aan Zee, 263
 Egmond, House of, 258
 Egmond Abbey, 88, 234
 Egmond-aan-den-Hoef, 118
 Eighty Years' War, 8, 10, 11, 16, 19, 22, 26, 62, 114, 138, 148, 157, 171, 180, 181, 187, 190, 200, 207, 214, 220, 231, 245, 248, 279, 280, 286, 288, 293, 294, 314, 324, 326
 Eindhoven, 315
 Einhardt, Frankish scholar, 170
 Eleonore, duchess of Gelderland, 256
 Eligius, saint, 175, 176, 178
 Emden, 156

- Emmius, Ubbo, 268, 287
 Ems, 271
 Enakim, 277
 Engelen, Engelbert, 250
 England, 8, 11, 24, 36, 99, 119, 122, 139, 244, 245, 278, 323
 English Civil War, 11, 278
 Enkhuizen, 82, 128
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 59, 60, 61
 Erkelenz, 248
 Estius, Willem, 99, 293
 Ewichius, Herman, 146

 Farnese, Alexander, duke of Parma, 164, 168, 176, 209, 214, 303
 fatherland. *See* patria
 Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, 259
 Flanders, 18, 24, 163, 191, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 229, 230, 242, 245, 251, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 302, 320, 321, 325
 Imperial Flanders, 217, 219
 Fleming, Peter, 55
 Floris de Vriendt, Cornelis, 166
 Floris V, count of Holland, 47, 68, 72
 Floris, Frans, 181
 Flushing, 166, 245
 Fokkens, Melchior, 89
 Foppesz, Pieter Jansz., 106
 France, 11, 36, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 139, 141, 202, 264, 297
 See also French Wars of Religion
 Francis I, king of France, 302
 Franeker, University of, 36, 152, 253, 262
 Franks, 258, 273, 277
 Frans, Peter, 166
 Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, 25, 83, 141, 320
 Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, 187
 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, 138
 freedom. *See* liberty
 French Wars of Religion, 11
 Friesland, 118, 119, 128, 152, 229, 230, 247, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 271, 281, 316
 See also Frisians
 Frijhoff, Willem, 109
 Frisians, 94, 234, 271, 275
 Froissart, Jean, 310
 Furmerius, Bernard, 268

 Geelkercken, Nicolaas van, 252
 Geldenhouwer, Gerard, 51, 145, 148, 153, 256
 Gelderland, 9, 15, 22, 23, 37, 50, 51, 128, 137, 138, 139, 147, 148, 149, 153, 154, 155, 157, 182, 230, 240, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 265, 270, 273, 275, 277, 279, 280, 288, 297, 325, 326,
 Four Quarters of, 261
 Hof of, 250
 nobility of, 148, 149, 157, 258
 Overkwartier, 249, 250, 262
 States of, 37, 248, 251, 253, 255,
 Geneva, 110, 139
 Gent, Cornelis van, 250
 George, saint, 56
 Geraardsbergen, 23, 24, 188, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 325, 327
 Abbey of St. Adrian, 211
 rederijkerskamer of, 222
 German Peasants' War, 302
 Germany, 21, 36, 248, 313
 See also Holy Roman Empire
 Gertrude of Nivelles, saint, 295
 Geuzen, 150, 151, 293
 Ghent, 116, 127, 153, 168, 211, 213, 216, 217, 219, 265, 284
 Gijsen, Joost van, 250
 Godfroy de Bouillon, 163, 172, 174, 298, 299
 Goedesberg, Gerrit van, 271
 Goes, 245
 Golden Fleece, Order of the, 186, 304
 Goltzius, Hendrick, 106, 119, 287
 Gorcum, 128
 martyrs of, 292, 293, 323
 Gothicism, 268, 269, 277
 Goths, 244, 271, 272, 273, 275, 277
 Gouda, 105, 128, 233
 Gouthoeven, Wouter van, 126
 Gouwen, Gilliam van, 40
 Graft, 133
 Gramaye, Jean Baptiste, 4, 24, 167, 168, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 194, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 229, 247, 287, 319, 321, 323
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de, cardinal, 199
 Graphaeus, Cornelius, 183, 304
 Grave, 315

- Groningen, 229, 263, 266, 267, 268, 271, 274, 275, 280, 281
- Grotius, Hugo, 7, 11, 37, 53, 111, 148
- Guicciardini, Ludovico, 167, 171, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184
- Gysbrecht van Amstel, 68
- Gysius, Johan, 64
- Haarlem, 2, 22, 29, 36, 57, 62, 65, 82, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 173, 212, 213, 214, 218, 233, 238, 240, 293, 323
- and Damietta legend, 106, 116, 117, 118, 125, 126, 127, 128, 133, 173
- Jewish community of, 108
- Latin School of, 22, 198, 109, 110, 124
- Lords of, 114
- Siege of (1572–73), 65, 82, 116, 117, 125, 128, 129, 238, 246, 260
- Haarlemmer Meer, 133
- Haecht Goidtsenhoven, Laurens van, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 323
- Haecht, Godevaert van, 129
- Haemrode, Cornelis van, 47
- Hagiography, 20, 56, 119, 174, 178, 307, 308, 322, 327
- Hainaut, 191, 208, 209, 210, 215, 217, 220, 321
- Haitsma Mulier, E.O.G., 8, 18
- Halbwachs, Maurice, 13, 16
- Hamburg, 269
- Hannibal, 5, 75
- Hanseatic League, 138
- Harderwijk, 37, 80, 93, 139, 251, 252, 253, 327
- Hartoghvelt, Christophel, 91
- Hausbücher*, 21
- Havermans
- Adriaan, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 326
- Gerard, 309
- Heda, Willem, 126, 184, 243, 310
- Heede, Anneke van, 37
- Heelu, Jan van, 200
- Heemskerk, Jacob van, 79, 90
- Heemskerck, Maarten van, 106, 119
- Heidelberg, 139
- Heinen-von Borries, Ute, 249
- Heinsius, Daniel, 111, 147, 216, 220
- Heldt Stokade, Nicolas de, 158
- Helmbreker, Kornelis, 119
- Helmond, 315
- Henning, Henricus, 152
- Henry (VII), king of the Romans, 157
- Henry I, duke of Brabant, 201
- Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 172
- Henry V, Holy Roman Emperor, 163
- Henry VII, king of England, 56
- Herbenus, Matthaeus, 313
- Herman, Hugo, 25
- Herodotus, Greek historian, 268, 297
- Hesse, 76
- Heusden, 316
- Heuterus, Pontus, 307
- Heverlee, 191, 192, 193
- Heyden, Jan van der, 35
- Heyn, Piet, 83, 96
- Hieronymus, saint, church father, 58
- Hiltten, Jan van, 232
- Hispanus, Gomezius, 184
- Historia*, 39, 71, 101, 128, 172, 200, 201, 322, 323
- Hoffer
- Adriaen, 242
- Rochus, 147
- Hogenberg, Frans, 72
- Hohenlohe, Philip, count of, 276
- Holland, 1, 3, 19, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 38, 39, 41, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 68, 69, 74, 82, 84, 88, 91, 94, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 123, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 149, 150, 153, 154, 157, 195, 214, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 251, 254, 255, 256, 260, 263, 265, 270, 271, 275, 279, 280, 281, 294, 297, 308, 309, 316, 326
- States of, 61, 64, 150, 212, 328, 330, 360
- Holy Roman Empire, 20, 43, 54, 72, 76, 115, 147, 148, 154, 157, 163, 185, 209, 246, 247, 248, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 279, 288, 313, 314, 326
- Hondius
- Hendrik, 24, 42, 232, 233, 241, 282, 283, 284
- Jodocus (junior), 37, 38
- Jodocus (senior), 46, 55, 411
- Hooft, P.C., 107, 111, 124, 130, 340
- Hoorn, 109, 156, 319
- Horace, Roman poet, 144
- Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chia, 86

- Huguenots, 97, 100, 122
 Hulst, 320
 Hulst, Abraham van der, 90
 Huns, 217
 Huygens, Constantin, 37, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 309, 327
 Huysdens, Peter, 167

 Iconoclastic Fury (1566), 208, 210, 213, 222, 301
 Ignatius of Antioch, Apostolic father, saint, 177
 IJ, 57
 IJssel, 271
 Illustrious Schools, 78, 79, 109, 309, 314
 immigrants and immigration, 30, 32, 33, 62, 63, 83, 85, 39, 40, 42, 83, 84, 85, 96, 97, 98, 99, 121, 123, 132, 152, 164
 French, 97, 98, 106
 from the Southern Netherlands, 31, 62, 85, 106, 122
 German, 31, 70, 76, 138, 139
 Jewish, 33, 34, 99, 108
 Scandinavian, 31, 62, 84
 Swiss, 131
 India, 297
 Inquisition, 237, 275
 Isabella of Bourbon, countess of Charolais, 186
 Isabella, Infante of Spain and archduchess of Austria, 4, 167, 201, 202, 209, 210, 211, 287, 300, 302, 305, 321
 Italian Wars, 302
 Italy, 2, 20, 36, 47, 141, 153, 165, 181, 192, 297

 Jan I, duke of Brabant, 200
 Jan IV, duke of Brabant, 311
 Jansonius, Jacob, 99
 Janssonius, Joannes, 252
 Japhet, 198, 270, 276
 Java, 235, 243
 Jerusalem, 105, 172, 211, 276, 286, 298
 Jesuits, 20, 175, 176, 223
 Jode, Gerard de, 296
 Jordaens, Jacob, 162
Joyeuse Entrée. See Joyous Entries
 Joyous Entries, 238, 304, 305, 312, 325
 Jülich(-Cleves-Berg), Duchy of, 139, 140, 240, 250, 251
 Jülich, House of, 258
 Julius Paulus, 53, 54, 261
 Junius de Jonghe, Johan, 222

 Junius, Hadrianus, 5, 6, 152, 159, 163, 177, 182, 332

 Kaplan, Benjamin, 83, 97
 Karel van Egmond, duke of Gelderland, 245, 248, 265
 Keijns, Jacob, 232, 233
 Kenau Symonsdochter Hasselaer, 128
 Kennemerland, 115
 Keyser, Hendrick de, 32, 84
 Knights of St. John, 302
 Kortrijk, 105, 123
 Koster, Laurens, 111
 Krantz, Albert, 171, 269, 270, 272, 279, 310

 Lambrecht, saint, 312
 Lammertijn, Passchier, 123
 Langereis, Sandra, 8, 142, 281
 language
 criticism of medieval Latin, 194
 translations, 15, 35, 47, 69, 79, 124, 229, 232, 235, 253, 258, 269, 283, 296, 308, 316, 319
 use of Latin, 4, 15, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 61, 69, 72, 79, 101, 102, 112, 124, 143, 154, 157, 170, 184, 194, 195, 207, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 241, 252, 253, 255, 256, 262, 276, 283, 286, 287, 292, 296, 299, 307, 308, 319, 325
 use of vernacular (Dutch/Flemish), 1, 5, 15, 61, 69, 79, 112, 188, 207, 222, 223, 229, 230, 239, 255, 295, 308, 319, 320, 321, 325
 Lansberghe, Jacob van, 320
 laus urbis. See *stedenlob*
 Le Roy, Jacques, 168, 184, 185, 186, 187, 324
 Lecuppre-Desjardin, Elodie, 74, 467
 Leeghwater, Jan Adriaenszoon, 22, 108, 133, 135
 Leicester, Robert Dudley, earl of, 82
 Leiden, 16, 24, 29, 36, 52, 57, 62, 65, 74, 105, 109, 110, 112, 116, 122, 128, 162, 163, 190, 203, 216, 218, 232, 233, 234, 238, 240, 242, 246, 250, 251, 262, 263, 283, 289, 293, 308, 327
 Siege of (1573–74), 82, 239, 260
 University of, 9, 37, 78, 124, 229, 231, 249, 253, 309, 320
 Lem, Heer, 114
 Leon, Jacob Jehuda, 99
 Leonidas, hero-king of Sparta, 5, 75

- Lepanto, Battle of, 286, 302
- Leuven, 23, 99, 130, 163, 169, 176, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 216, 219, 222, 295, 296, 302
- University of, 137, 270, 271, 272, 275, 278, 285, 289, 290, 291, 308, 313, 430, 459
- Levy, Fritz, 9, 10
- liberties. *See* rights and privileges
- liberty
- Batavian. *See* Batavians and liberty
 - Dutch, 103, 245, 255, 274
 - imperial, 146
 - of conscience, 64, 84, 98, 120
- Liège, 182, 300, 312, 313
- Lindanus, David, 212
- Lingen, Siege of, 303
- Linschooten, Jan van, 267
- Lipsius, Justus, 23, 24, 36, 61, 95, 111, 145, 168, 179, 182, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 249, 287, 301, 308, 322
- Livy, Roman historian, 297, 310
- Lom, Christiaan van, 283
- London, 122, 166, 185
- Loon, Gerard van, 19
- Lothar I, emperor of the Romans, 201
- Lotharingia, 199, 201, 202, 205, 314, 323
- Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 157, 255
- Loyola, Ignatius, saint, 172
- Lucian of Samosata, ancient rhetorician and satirist, 44
- Lumey, William van der Mark, lord of, 66
- Luntius, Joannes, 37, 251
- Lupus, mythical Scottish king, 197
- Luther, Martin, 302
- Lutherans, 43, 51, 108, 121, 173, 177
- Lutheran church, 84, 97
- Maas, 242, 297, 300
- Maastricht, 140, 312, 313, 315
- Siege of (1632), 96
- Madonna. *See* Marian devotion
- Maestertius, Jacob, 320
- Magnus
- Johannes, 269, 270
 - Olaus, 268, 269, 270
- Magog, 270
- Mahusius, Johannes, 286
- Malta, 302
- Mantua, 215
- maps and cartography, 8, 22, 24, 25, 41, 42, 72, 73, 88, 91, 97, 102, 114, 228, 229, 232, 236, 241, 243, 252, 262, 271
- Marcuszen, Pieter, 119
- Margaret, duchess of Parma, 150
- Margret, saint, 56
- Marian devotion, 205, 301
- Blessed Virgin Mary, 24, 175, 177, 204, 288, 291, 300, 301, 302
 - Our Lady of Hal, 204
 - Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel-Zichem, 204, 300, 301
 - Our Lady of the Seven Wisdoms, 205
- Mary of Burgundy, 201, 203
- Mary, saint. *See* Marian devotion
- Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, 83, 285, 296
- Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 163, 203, 245, 248
- Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, 128
- Mechelen, 2, 163, 193, 196, 218, 223, 296, 312, 313, 319, 321
- Mecklenburg, 271
- media of commemoration.
- See* memory:commemorative media
- Medici, Maria de, 83
- Meerbeek, Adrian van, 287, 292, 293
- Melanchthon, Philip, 43
- Melo, Don Francisco de, 284
- memory
- and oblivion, 16, 25, 63, 64, 67, 122, 181, 214, 303
 - collective, 238, 240
 - commemorative media, 10, 13, 14, 21, 22, 87, 91, 95, 103, 118, 187, 218, 228, 321, 328
 - political, 12, 13, 106, 129
 - public, 107, 128, 129
 - social/interactive, 13, 14, 129
 - studies of, 12
- Menapii, Celtic tribe, 52, 93
- Mennonites, 84, 97, 139, 173, 177
- Mercator, Gerhard, 287
- Merchtenen, Hennen van, 298
- Mercury, 329
- Merovech, legendary king of the Franks, 272
- Merula, Paullus, 37, 153, 249, 250, 251, 258
- Meteren, Emmanuel van, 8, 38, 64, 128, 287, 292, 323
- Metius Curtius, 75

- Meurs, Jacob van, 1, 3, 70, 325
 Michael, saint, 422
 Middelburg, 242, 245
 Abbey, 246
 Mieris, Frans van, 19
 Minerva, Roman goddess, 203
 Miraeus, Aubert, 186, 197, 247, 287,
 310
 Moluccas, 48
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 6
 Mommaerts, Johannes, 183
 monasticism, 58, 77, 130, 211
 Monnikendam, 238
 Montanus, Arnoldus, 88, 93
 Montanus, Petrus, 37, 93
 Montigny, Adrien de, 191
 Montmorency, House of, 222
 Moors, 259
 Moretus, Jan, 162, 301
 Münster, 91, 397, 399, 440
 Peace of, 427, 428
 Münster, Sebastian, 297, 307
 Muslims, 173

 Naarden,
 Massacre of (1572), 65
 Siege of (1572), 116, 238, 240, 246,
 260
 Namur, 293, 321
 Nassau, House of, 258
 Nek, Jakob van, 79
 Neptune, Roman god of the sea, 40, 232
 Nero, Roman emperor, 53
 Nicholas, saint, 151
 Nierop, Henk van, 152, 153, 173
 Nieuwpoort, 285
 Nijkerk, 253, 254
 Nijmegen, 51, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141,
 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149,
 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157,
 158, 250, 252, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260,
 326
 relations to Holy Roman Empire, 147,
 148, 154, 157, 258, 259
 St. Steven's Kerk, 137, 140, 146, 258
 Town Hall of, 156, 258
 Treaty of, 186
 Valkhof, 138, 146, 156, 157, 158, 258
 Nine Worthies, 174, 298
 Noah, 198, 270, 272
 Noordzij, Aart, 150
 Normans, 115, 198, 234, 259, 277
 North America, 267
 North Company, 30

 Norwich, 56
 Nova Zembla, 38, 41
 Noviomagum, 138

 Odenkirchen, 139
 Oldenbarnevelt, Jan van, 66
 Omberghe, House of, 219
 Ommelanden, 281
 Opmeer, Petrus, 293
 Orange, House of, 95, 96, 242, 245, 246,
 260, 261, 294, 309, 314, 316
 Orlers, Jan Janszoon, 62, 74, 109, 111,
 239
 Ortelius, Abraham, 8, 72, 185, 287
 Ostend, Siege of (1601–1604), 218, 285,
 296
 Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor, 163
 Otto of St. Blasien, medieval chronicler,
 204
 Oud-Beijerland, 118
 Oudenaarde, 219, 238
 Oudenhoven, Jacob van, 133, 227, 316
 Oudewater,
 Siege of (1575), 238
 Overijssel, 15, 247, 248, 250, 251, 258,
 263, 264, 266, 267, 325
 Ovid, Roman poet, 48, 112

 Paauw, Peter, 78
 Pacification of Ghent, 163, 384
 Papebroch, Daniel, 168
 Paris, 98, 274
 Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of,
 See Farnese
 patria, 112, 113, 217, 280, 281
 Pereta, Edvardus Ximenes, 297
 Perrenot, Frederick, 222
 Pharamond, legendary king of the
 Franks, 272
 Philip II, king of Spain, 2, 10, 64, 171,
 179, 186, 190, 210, 213, 216, 237, 242,
 245, 248, 259, 261, 286, 287, 302, 303,
 304, 305, 312, 314
 Philip III, king of Spain, 190, 287
 Philip IV, king of Spain, 219, 261, 282,
 286, 287
 Philip of Saint-Pol, duke of Brabant, 311
 Philip the Fair, duke of Burgundy, 245
 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, 202
 Piacenza, 168
 Picardt
 Alexander, 263
 Johan, 227, 230, 262, 263, 264, 265
 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273,

- 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 289, 297, 315, 316, 323
 Wolther, 263, 267
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius, 297, 297, 307
 Plantin, Christophe, 162, 166
 Plato, 112
 Pliny the Elder, Roman author, 38, 46, 88, 145, 170, 268, 285, 311
 Poland, 278, 302
 Polyander, Johannes, 309
 Polybios, Greek historian, 170, 235, 268
 Polycarp of Smyrna, Apostolic father, saint, 177
 Pontanus, Johannes Isacius, 4, 6, 22, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 86, 89, 92, 93, 95, 101, 102, 103, 104, 109, 111, 116, 120, 121, 125, 135, 139, 147, 153, 155, 181, 188, 195, 227, 231, 233, 234, 235, 238, 240, 244, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 261, 263, 269
 Portugal, 34
 Priam, 274
 privileges. See rights and privileges
 Prussia, 278
 Pseudo-Berosus, 152, 270, 272
 Pseudo-Hunibald, 152
 Ptolemy, Claudius, ancient geographer, 2, 44, 170, 310
 Purmer, 236
 Puteanus, Eryceus, 219
 Pynnock, Lodewijk, 203
 Quintillian, Roman rhetorician, 200
Raad van Beroerten, 81
 Ravenstein, 294, 300
rederijerskamers, 208, 221, 222, 232, 325
 Regino of Prüm, medieval chronicler, 115, 170, 197, 198, 204, 234
 Reineccius, Reiner, 44, 49
 Remonstrants, 60, 79, 125, 261
 Rennenberg, George de Lalaing, count of, 63, 265
 Reygersbergen, Johan, 234, 242, 243, 244, 245
 Rhine, 138, 158, 271
 rights and privileges, 10, 17, 48, 53, 57, 68, 96, 98, 105, 113, 115, 121, 122, 127, 138, 139, 147, 152, 157, 158, 163, 195, 208, 210, 211, 215, 219, 250, 304, 305, 306, 311, 312, 314, 316
 Rijk, Jacob de, 79
 Rio, Martin del, 223
 Robert II, count of Flanders, 211, 286
 Roermond, 139, 249, 252, 262
 Rolde, 262, 267
 Rolevinck, Werner, 307
 Roman
 Michiel, 242
 Zacharias, 242
 Roman Empire. See Rome (ancient)
 Roman, Adriaen, 114
 Rome, 46, 53, 59, 76, 99, 119, 126, 153, 156, 158, 189, 193, 198, 199, 206, 234, 271, 279, 311
 Romulus and Remus, 46, 57
 Rosser, Gervase, 55, 56
 Rosweyde, Heribert, 124
 Rotterdam, 105, 233, 283
 Rubens
 Peter Paul, 162, 167, 176, 192, 193
 Philip, 192
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 157
 Rumoldus, saint, 178
 Ruyter, Michiel de, 91, 92, 104, 149
 Saenredam, Pieter, 106, 111, 114
 Saint-Genois, Jules de, 423
 Sandaeus, Maximilian, 99
 Sanderus
 Antonius, 15, 24, 177, 207, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 230, 231, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 298, 302, 319, 323
 Jan, 219
 Saracens, 173, 298
 Saxons, 259, 277, 298
 Saxony, 269
 Scaliger, Joseph, 36, 38, 61, 234, 243
 Scandia, 389
 Scandinavia, 31, 244, 268, 269, 270, 271,
 See also immigrants and immigration:
 Scandinavian
 Scania, 270
 Schelde, 163, 164, 165, 175, 180, 242, 306
 Schermerhorn, 118
 Scherpenheuvel, 300, 301
 Schmalkaldic League, 248
 Schoonbeke, Gilbert van, 166, 180
 Schoorisse, House of, 219, 222
 Schrevelius, Theodor, 22, 108, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 181, 327

- Schroeven, Willy, 321
 Scipio, 5, 75
 Scotland, 244, 245
 Scribani, Carolus, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 222, 223, 300, 322, 323, 325
 Scriverius, Petrus, 9, 37, 109, 111, 112, 117, 126, 142, 143, 231, 233, 235, 236, 252, 316, 327
 Scythians, ancient Iranian people, 52
 Sea Beggars, 113, 149, 424
 Sedulius, Henricus, 293
 Seneca, Roman philosopher, 5, 74, 144, 192
 Servatius, bishop of Maastricht and Tongeren, saint, 300, 312
 Seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, 170, 179, 245
 's-Hertogenbosch, 25, 251, 294, 295, 300, 305, 308, 315, 316
 Siege of (1602), 296
 Siege of (1629), 82, 96, 148, 306
 Sigebert of Gembloux, medieval chronicler, 170, 197, 198, 200
 Sint-Maria-Lierde, 211
 Sittard, 140
 Sladus, Cornelius, 99
 Slichtenhorst, Arend van, 6, 155, 156, 230, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 279, 280, 281, 289, 325, 326
 Smetius, 23, 157
 Johannes (junior), 22, 137, 140, 141, 142, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158
 Johannes (senior), 22, 23, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 158, 253, 254, 258, 260, 279
 Reinier, 141, 142, 154
 Snoi, Reiner, 234
 Spaans, Joke, 110, 116
 Spain, 32, 34, 66, 148, 152, 161, 202, 259, 297, 302
 Spanish forces, 25, 30, 29, 107, 157, 248, 265, 285, 303
 reputation of, 96, 240
 Spanish Fury. See Antwerp: Sack of (1576)
 Spiegel, Hendrik Laurensz., 61
 Spinola, Ambrogio, 25, 138, 241, 285
 States General, 47, 48, 145, 147, 148, 265, 266, 294, 296, 309, 311, 312, 315, 320, 326
 Stavoren, 274, 319
stedenlob, 110, 111, 113, 115, 146, 153, 169, 170, 171, 189, 192
 Steenbach, Jacob, 129
 Steenberg, 309, 315
 Stoke, Melis, 88, 94, 195, 243
 Strabo of Amasia, ancient geographer, 2, 6, 8, 38, 46, 285
 Straelen, 248
 Suebi, 271, 275
 Suetonius, Roman biographer, 88
 Surius, Laurentius, 307
 Sweerius, Isaac, 90
 Switzerland, 131, 264
 Tacitus, Roman historian, 38, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 76, 88, 143, 144, 145, 148, 150, 153, 170, 234, 235, 237, 256, 257, 268, 273, 310
 Taffin, Jean, 132
 Tertullian, church father, 178
 Teschenmacher, Werner, 155
 Tessel, 52
 Tetzl, Johan, 130
 Teylingen, Maria van, 127
 The Hague, 265, 266, 283, 294, 309, 312, 314, 316, 320
 theaterstaat, 321
 Thimo, Pierre de, 298
 Thirty Years' War, 31, 32, 106, 140, 246
 Thucydides, Greek historian, 297
 Tilmans, Karin, 56
 Toledo, Don Fadrique Alvarez de, 107
 Torrentius, Laevenius, 223
 Tournai, court of, 229
 Trajan, Roman emperor, 138
translatio studii, 49
 Trent, Council of, 173, 178
 Trim, David, 149
 Trithemius, Johannes, 152, 310
 Triverius, Hieronymus, 216
 Troy, 270
 Tulipomania, 96, 125
 Turkey, 297
 Turks, 173, 286, 303
 Twelve Years' Truce, 3, 32, 66, 67, 131, 171, 209, 210, 214, 218, 251, 296
 Twente, 272, 273
 Tymen, Kornelis, 119
 tyranny, 131, 245, 261, 293,
 Ubbebergen, 151
 Union of Utrecht, 157, 248, 265, 305
 United East India Company. See VOC

- Utrecht,
 city of, 57, 69, 89, 130, 158, 307
 Bishopric of, 156, 175, 236, 248, 250,
 251, 265, 273, 274
 University of, 70, 155
 Uwens, Gregorius, 192
- vaderland*. See patria
 Vaernewyck, Marcus van, 153
 Valkenburg, 312
 Vandalia, 269
 Vandals, 272
 Varro, Marcus Terrentius, Roman
 historian, 46, 193
 Veere, 245
 Velde, Jan van de, 114, 253
 Veldenaer, Johan, 307
 Venice, 46, 297
 Verbaan, Eddy, 109
Vergangenheitsgeschichte, 16
 Verstegan, Richard, 124
 Verwer, Willem Janszoon, 129
vetustas, 57, 217, 269, 274, 279
 Vienna, 182, 185, 203
 Vikings, 234
 Virgil, Roman poet, 48
 Visscher, Roemer, 78
 VOC, 15, 30, 33, 35, 38, 41, 62, 74, 242,
 247
 Voetius, Gisbertus, 158
 Vogelsang, House of, 115
 Völkel, Markus, 158, 207, 263
 Vondel, Joost van den, 73, 78, 90, 94
 Vossius, Gerard, 78
- Waal, 138, 158
 Wachtendonk, 248
 Siege of, 303
 Waesberghe, Joannes van, 24, 207, 211,
 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220,
 221, 222,
 Wagenaar, Jan, 19, 281
 Walachrius, legendary founding father
 of Walcheren, 243
 Walburga, saint, 175, 176, 185
 Walcheren, 242, 243, 247
 Wends, 272, 275
 West Friesland, 230, 232, 233, 236
 West India Company, 66, 263
- West Indies, 66
 Westphalia, 70, 273
 Westphalia, Treaties of, 3, 96, 261, 311,
 314, 317
 Peace of, 214, 242, 246, 306, 308, 309
 Wetz, Rumoldus Jacob, 321
 Weurt, 155
 Willekens, Jacob, 79
 Willem II, king of the Romans, count of
 Holland, 138
 William I, prince of Orange, 54, 66, 95,
 96, 248, 261, 305,
 William II, prince of Orange, 71, 83,
 99, 309
 William Louis, count of Nassau, 276
 William of Malmesbury, medieval
 chronicler, 171, 172
 William of Tyre, medieval chronicler,
 171, 172
 William, duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, 248
 Willibrord, saint, 21, 119, 120, 156, 174,
 175, 177, 205, 273, 275, 292
 Winsemius, Vitus, 216, 217
 Wirtz, Paulus, 90
 Witsen, 1, 5, 70, 101
 Kornelis, 4, 70, 71
 Woolf, Daniel, 11, 323
 Wormer, 236
 Wormundus, Franciscus, 61
 Worringer, Battle of, 200
- Xanten, 146
- Ypres, 282, 283, 284
 Yssel, 382
- Zaan, Willem vander, 90
 Zalandius, legendary founding father of
 Zeeland, 243
 Zeeland, 31, 118, 171, 229, 230, 242,
 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 254, 261, 265,
 270, 275, 279, 280, 316, 317, 326
Zeitgeschichte, 16
 Zesen, Philip von, 1, 69
 Zierikzee, 212
 Zion, 276
 Zuingerus, Jacob, 152
 Zutphen, 65, 116, 252, 273, 248
 Massacre of (1572), 248, 261